

Advertising: elaborate art

of illusion -

- CAN BE LIK-
ened to a twentieth-century love
potion: it arouses desires beyond
means, invites extreme consum-
ption and presents a material para-
dise as life's goal.

Within publicity choices are
offered between this car and
that car, that deodorant and this

deodorant, but publicity as a system

only makes a single proposal.
It proposes to each of us that we

transform ourselves, or our lives,

by buying something more.

PENTAX

The purpose of publicity is to
make us, the spectator, marginally
dissatisfied with our present way of
life. Not with the way of life
of society, but with our own life
within it.

"There's a certain absurdity
about the whole thing when you
consider that the more appealing I
make a product look, the more
likely the resulting ad is to sell
people things they may not need,"

says Dan Egro, a Los Angeles-
based advertising photographer.
"I'm really in the business of creating
elaborate illusions."

WOW, MAYBE
WE CAN AFFORD
THAT NEW TV

Publicity is the life of this culture - in so far as
without publicity capitalism could not survive - and at the
same time publicity is its dream.

Capitalism survives by forcing the majority, whom
it exploits, to define their own interests as narrowly as
possible. This was once achieved by extensive deprivation.
Today in the developed countries it is being achieved by
imposing a false standard of what is and what is not desirable.

To be continued by the reader ..

SPRING 1981 NO. 4

50¢



ANARCHY IS GOOD NEWS

AN URGENT CALL TO ACTION

EDWARD LAW

An Urgent Call To Action

The United States military is now building Mark 12-A and Mark 500 missiles; these are FIRST STRIKE weapons designed to carry nuclear warheads to within a few feet of their targets, warheads many times more powerful than the bombs with which the United States military destroyed the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Clearly, United States "leaders" want to be able to strike first at the Soviet Union, hoping to destroy all of the missiles in Soviet silos and on Soviet submarines (this latter objective being the supreme motivating force behind the Space Shuttle) so that those who are attacked can not retaliate. Such an attempt would very likely lead to a nuclear "exchange" and put an end to life on our planet. Would those who (we were happy to learn) could not fly helicopters across the Iranian desert really be able to knock out All Soviet missiles?

American war-planners talk glibly about "acceptable losses" in nuclear war. But recent meetings of American and Soviet physicians and scientists have been unanimous in warning against the madness inherent in this point of view. The last Pugwash Conference issued the following warnings:

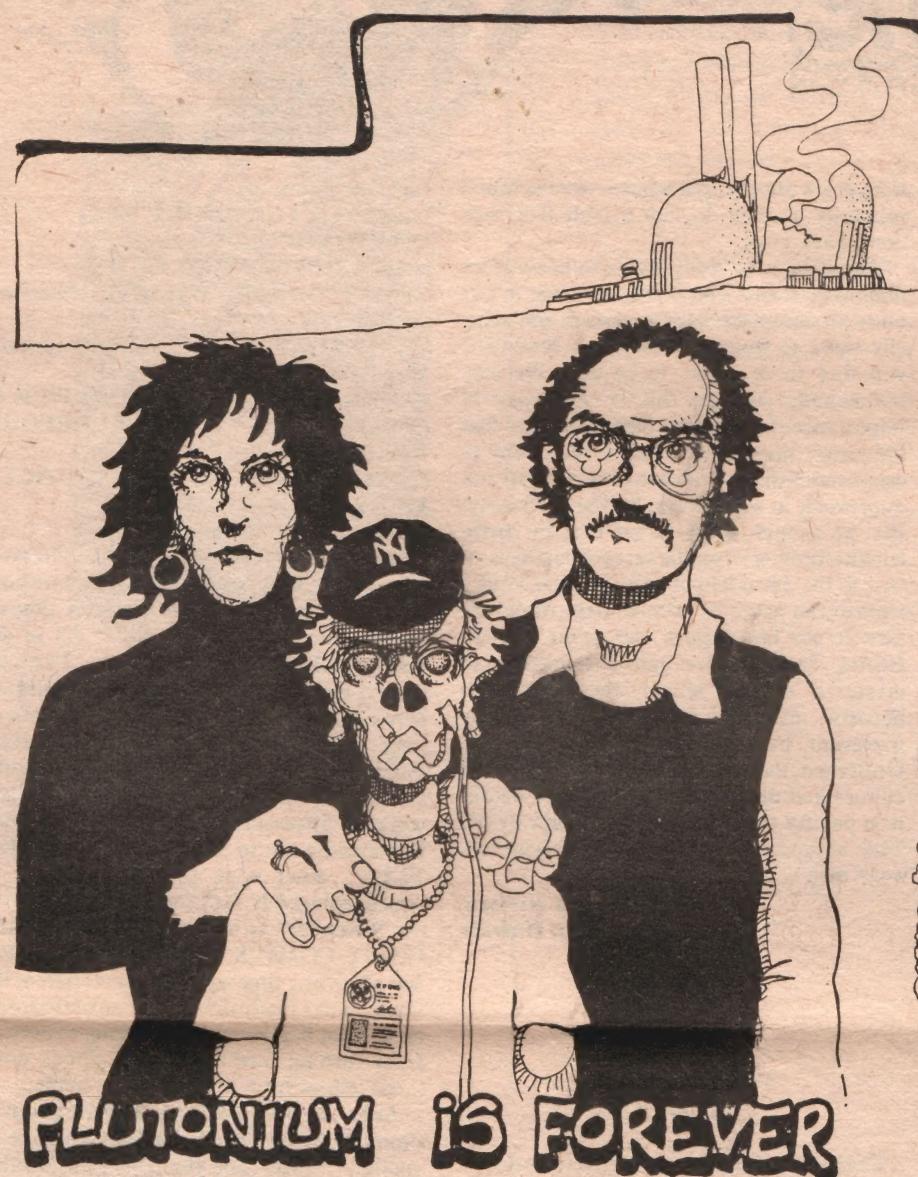
(1) *'Medical disaster-planning for a nuclear war is futile.* A nuclear war would result in human death, injury, and disease that has no precedent in history, dwarfing all previous plagues and wars. There is no effective medical response after a nuclear attack—in one major city alone, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of sudden deaths, there would be hundreds of thousands of people with severe burns, trauma, and radiation sickness—all demanding intensive care. Even if all medical resources were intact, the care of these immediate survivors would be impossible..."

(2) *'Effective Civil Defense against a nuclear attack is impossible.* Bomb shelters in cities under nuclear attack would be useless owing to the blast, heat, and radiation effects. Shelters as far as ten kilometers from the center of even a one megaton surface nuclear explosion would become ovens for their occupants—the great surface fires would cook and asphyxiate them. At greater distances, shelters would provide only temporary radioactive fallout... For the survivors, the risk of epidemics would be great as a result of the unburied human and animal corpses everywhere, the multiplication of viruses, bacteria, fungi, and insects, which are highly resistant to radiation... In sum, there are no defenses against the lethal effects of nuclear weapons, and there is no effective treatment for those who initially survive a nuclear attack..."

And after the most serious warning of all, that, because of the delicate balance of organic life in our thin layer of atmosphere that surrounds the planet and because of the fragility of the genetic structure that supports this life, radiation released in a nuclear war would almost certainly put an end to life on planet earth...the Pugwash Conference closes with:

"As doctors of medicine and scientists in health-related fields, we conclude that nuclear weapons must never be used..."

United States political and military "leaders" continue to threaten (as they have so often in the past) to use nuclear weapons in order to get their way, and so thousands of us have come out in open resistance to their madness. Many had waited many years for a legislative solution which never came. In 1980 American corporations poured unprecedented amounts of money into buy-



ing a Congress that would keep the arms race going and that would arrange for a war in which some of these arms could be used. Prominent among these corporations, of course, were those which profit from the construction of weapons (nuclear and "conventional") and from the exploitation of "third world" people (such as those of El Salvador) who are held hostage by a threat to "blow them back to the Stone Age".

It is thus left up to us to act and thus stop the weapons-makers ourselves. We people of peace, united in a world-wide movement, can no longer afford to wait for our "leaders" to lead. The danger is too great.

Had we lived in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, what acts would we have taken against the Nazi centers of extermination? By any sane legal terms (as was clearly enunciated at Nuremberg) our "right" and our responsibility would have been to make every effort to destroy those centers of death and to take power out of the hands of the maniacs who were building them.

Today's maniacs, who talk of launching nuclear war in order to "protect" America, are clearly capable of committing crime of an even higher magnitude than Hitler: the indiscriminate slaughter of our world's people. Under the psychotic banner BETTER DEAD THAN RED they have stated openly a willingness to do this—to risk destroying all life on our planet. It is the classic infantile attitude (so horrifying in an adult): "If I can't get my way I will destroy everything!"

Meanwhile, the most heinous crimes are being committed by Americans and their agents. Today's extension of a long, depressing historical process is so clearly documented that we really need not research it further, or debate whether or not it is happening; it is simply a question of whether or not we are willing to admit the grim truth and

face up to what the truth means in terms of personal responsibility. Industrialized Western Europeans and their descendants around the world have for centuries oppressed the working people in their own countries as well as the indigenous people of those areas exploited for the "natural resources" and cheap labor necessary to keep Western power flowing smoothly along in its destructive course.

For 500 years Native American tribes have been in the vanguard of resistance to this process, preserving spiritual, deeply human, natural values in the face of the most awful degradations. In fact it has been indigenous peoples everywhere (including, of course, the Africans who were captured and brought to America to slave) who have had to lead the resistance to Western immorality and crime.

Today the process enters perhaps its final stage. The last Western Shoshone are scheduled for destruction in Nevada through the building of the MX missile system. Here, as in so many other places, the remnants of once numerous (and still mighty) tribes have been reduced to what was once thought of as the least desirable land. And now corporate predators are trying to take even this land because it is the last open space—as elsewhere they are taking the land because uranium and other minerals have been found. And, naturally, part of the "master plan" is to continue the present policy of using Native Americans and other oppressed people to do the mining so that these people will absorb the first brunt of cancerous consequences.

Also today the pressure on the people of Central America continues, for the same exploitative reasons. The United States military-political-industrial powers are preparing to destroy these people (with nuclear weapons if necessary) rather than have them succeed in finally throwing off the masters who have enslaved them. In El Salvador,

while United States "leaders" gather proof of Russian-Cuban "interference," "security forces" (armed and trained by agents of the United States government) murder the people by the thousands. To combat this brutal, U.S.-supported dictatorship a Popular Front has emerged in El Salvador. And, even according to U.S. officials, this Popular Front (made up of organizations of workers, peasants, students, clergy, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and small businesses) represents over 80% of the people. They cry out for help from those of us who care.

From long concealed documents (recently released through the Freedom of Information Act) we now know that in November of 1969 Nixon was preparing to launch nuclear war against the people of Vietnam, and that it was the presence of thousands of war-protesters in the streets that frightened him away from doing so.

Our power is supreme if we can only believe in ourselves—if enough of us can believe and act. We can stop the United States war-machine in its tracks if enough of us are willing to act now. It takes putting ourselves between the "boys" and their "toys" and refusing to move until they quit playing around with all of our lives. We risk fines, imprisonment, physical abuse, ridicule, and death. But what is that risk compared with the risk of nuclear war? Are we not already in prison, the prison of our own fear and impotency, while our sisters and brothers are being killed?

Non-Violent Civil Disobedience and Direct Action have been the core of our struggle for justice—in America and elsewhere.

- The Boston Tea Party did not wait for a permit from the courts before they demonstrated.

- The victories, early in this century, of workers to organize against oppression and of women to vote were not won without filling jails and sometimes graves.

- The civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s were not won by waiting for Congress or the courts; if we had waited we would still be sitting in the back of the bus.

- The struggle against those Americans who decided that the Vietnamese would be better off dead than red was not won by staying home and watching the phony body-counts on T.V.

Today we need each of you to help stop the United States war-planners. Killing Reagan would solve nothing. We are not faced with a Hitler mesmerizing a fanatical clique, but with class psychosis. Bush, Haig, Thurmond, and millions of other violent men are waiting in the wings. Transformation is not a simple matter—and the times call for nothing less.

How are we to break the circle of violence? Beat their Swords into Plowshares, yes, by all means, and if that looks too violent to some, so be it. But beating the Swordsman will only harden them to new violence, and two will spring up for every one that falls. Difficult as it may be to accomplish, we and the Swordsman must share the experience of transformation that comes through (and only through) an absolutely unwavering and unyielding respect for life and resistance to all that would glorify death.

Asked how long he felt it would be before nuclear war would break out, Albert Einstein answered, "I don't know, but I do know that there will be no World War Four."

We ask you to join us in open unyielding rebellion against war and injustice. We ask you not to wait for leaders. Your own instinct and intelligence will lead you. Please act quickly. Act now.

Letters to Front Line

FEMINISM CONTINUED

To the Frontline Collective;

Your issue 3 contains a letter from one George Benko in Saskatchewan, a typical example of self-righteous sour-grapes anti-feminism. It's the typical reaction of men to feminism—"Hey, what about me? Me? ME!!" Men like this are basically scared silly by the proposition that women don't need men at all, can develop their own relationships, ideologies, and politics among themselves, and are probably better off doing so. The fact is that since men have colonized, oppressed, raped, and otherwise done their best to destroy women throughout recorded history, it's none of their damned business what women choose to do, say, and think once they achieve consciousness of that fact.

Point by point: He starts out calling for a "clarification"—"Which feminism is one talking about?" and criticizes the different tendencies according to his enlightened (male) perspective. He has a special denunciation for radical feminism, which he calls "brutal and authoritarian". The "brutal authoritarianism" of radical feminism stems from the fact that it starts with an analysis of the situation and experience of women, and those are the most brutal and authoritarian that we can find in history. But the brutes and the authoritarians were men, not women. If the radical feminist analysis and prescription for women's liberation doesn't ask men's permission or put on a pretty face for them, that's just too bad for men. Men continually try to bend women's priorities to meet their own, as a way of continuing their subjection. The only way women can free themselves is to deny them that "right" and find their own priorities. Women have been written out of the history of mankind for so long that, at the very least, turnabout is fair play. If men now find themselves written out of the radical feminist world view, maybe they should look at women's experience as described by women themselves, and take a long, hard look at themselves to understand why this is being done. Shut your mouths and open your ears, boys. Your sisters are talking to you, and they have a lot to say.

As to George's panicky whining about the "strain within the broad area of feminism that is anti-sexuality and virulently anti-male"—why the hell not? If the preponderant reality of heterosexual relations is male dominance, from the double standard and economic domination to rape, genital mutilation and suttee, why shouldn't women react with anti-heterosexuality and hatred of men? The usual pattern of male-female sexual relations is one of manipulation, subtle and blatant coercion, and the reduction of women to sub-humans whose duty is to please men. If George protests that "He's not like that", one should wonder what his ex-lovers would say.

His assertion that "In the end this type of feminism has as much hatred for other women as it has for men" is a total distortion of the truth. Liberated women do not "hate their unliberated sisters". If some women feel exasperation and even anger at anti-feminist women who are not yet conscious of their own oppression, it is only because the passivity and occasional anti-feminist activity of these women set back the progress of women's liberation, and undercut the efforts of conscious women. His diatribe on this point follows the time-honored male anti-woman myth that "women really hate each other and can never get along with other women." This myth is propagated to reinforce the traditional male fragmenting of female society of splitting women up in patriarchal families under male authority and sexual and economic ownership. In the face of this ancient and pervasive cultural repres-

sion, it is a miracle that women have as much solidarity as they do, not a fault that they don't have more.

Any male who really wants to know what feminism is, and who has the courage to put aside his complacent male egotism and actually listen to women, particularly feminists, will find these points to be true. He may incidentally (though this is secondary in importance) find much in feminist ideas that illuminate his own experience, and come to understand that he too has been warped and oppressed, in some ways, by the patriarchy. But he should never forget that by birth, conditioning, and public recognition he is an heir to the patriarchy if he so desires, while a woman can never be such an heir. Male culture is not her culture and never will be. Radical feminists are indeed struggling to create a society where the distinction between male and female will be socially irrelevant, but that time is a long way off. Until then, they have to work to build female culture and destroy male culture, no matter how painful that may be for men now living. The complaints of obtuse, self-centered, weak men will not dissuade them.

Chris Nielsen
Honolulu, Hawaii

"WE"?

When our incredibly wealthy Sen. Percy—as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee—says that "we" are going to draw the line against Communism in El Salvador", for whom does he speak?

Does he speak for that great majority of Salvadorans called peasants? (ie: those of whom 50% are unemployed and 25% of whose children die before age five.)

Does he speak for those who labor that he might have his morning fix of caffeine and his evening demi-tasse, and that he and his family and friends might have plenty of cotton for their exorbitant wardrobes?

Or does he speak for the junta that has been torturing and murdering the leaders from the ranks of these oppressed people?

Who is Sen. Percy that he should presume to draw any lines for the people of El Salvador?

In saying "we" does he speak for the American boys who will die in America's proposed intervention? Does he speak for the boys from America's ghettos who, through economic "necessity", will be forced into the army while he watches from the safety of his homes?

Or does he propose that he and his friends take up their hunting rifles and that their wives take out the little pistols from their purses so that they can go down and protect their own interests this time?

Does he speak for the people of El Salvador who will be slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands (as were the people of Vietnam) so that they can be saved from Communism? Are those napalmed babies really "better dead than red"?

Does Sen. Percy pretend to speak for those of us, truly loyal to the principles of freedom and justice, who will fight to our last breath to see that never again—never ever again—will the vicious American military be turned loose on a suffering people seeking liberation?

Twitka Shunka
Wash., D.C.

from the Pineal of
UKELELE THE SHORT, KSC
JERRY CORNELIUS CABAL
NORMANDY-IN-EXILE

TODAY'S DATE: Day of the Flaming Gerbil

YESTERDAY'S DATE: John Bonham Memorial Vodka-Drinking Day

CLEARANCE: () 5-E () DRAWER 0
(??) 14' 10" () BURN BEFORE READING

OFFICIAL DISCORDIAN DOCUMENT wallawalladingdong

Sirs (and I use the term loosely):

Well, it seems that getting one's address on the back of SRAFPprint will get one more junk mail than subscribing to Reader's Digest, though also more interesting. All in all, FRONTLINE 3 wasn't too bad...I've only known one group of chimps that could do better for a third ish, and they had benefit of large quantities of dangerous habituating mind-expanding psychopharmaceutical substances, as well as a copy of the complete works of Shakespeare to crib from. Which is decidedly not to say that parts of FRONTLINE don't stink on ice. Speaking of which, somebody feed some acid to whoever (or whatever) is responsible for ANARCHIST COMICS...the Spanish Civil War was a loooong time ago, in another part of the world, and I really doubt that turning people on to what happened then is going to keep us from turning into radioactive clouds now...tell 'em to hit a little closer to home.

As for the workers controlling the means of production, give it up. Do enough dope or enough Crowley, and you realize the fact that control is just part of the map, not of the territory. Why exchange one tyranny for another, even one of your fellow workers? Hierarchical systems happen to work, that's what makes the difference between a man and twenty billion amoebas.

Eat glass and turn blue,
Ukelele the Short, KSC
Alhabra, CA

Bored

Am reporting from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Jan. 7, 1981 on a *Washington Post* special by Herbert H. Denton. It is with distress that I pondered the ramifications of the study performed by the Children's Defense Fund. Some of Marion Wright Edelman's conclusions drawn from the theoretical testing were:

1) Black children are three times as likely to be labeled mentally retarded than white children;

2) As the black middle class has grown, the black poor have increased at even a greater rate;

3) Her statistics cited far more progress for the elderly than for black children;

4) A black has a life expectancy that is five years shorter now.

These thoughts remind me of a story one white nurse in Boston told me. She explained to me the trauma of labor pains and a black, middle-aged, weary, welfare woman entering the clinic to garner reasons for and remedies for her pain. A well-groomed caucasian doctor, sporting a GM mechanics hat, and armed with drill and plunger, approached the lady and reasoned "I think it's an inflamed appendix. I'll remove it for \$2,300 dollars."

The black household head responded, timidly, "Thanx, doctors. That's really white of you."

Jon Nichol
Chicago, IL



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London

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NY

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If you know of a book store in your area, let us please now. We want to broaden our distribution and exchange publications with other groups. As well as welcome contributions in forms of articles, photos, and cash all of which are appreciated. FRONT LINE, P.O. Box 21071, Washington D.C. 20009.

HEY! NOW WAIT JUST A DARN MINUTE!

TEARING DOWN CIVILIZATION IS TERRIFIC — BUT WHAT WILL REPLACE IT?

This fourth issue of FRONT LINE was put together by an anarchist collective from Washington D.C., Maryland and Virginia and paid for through loans and donations. If you pick this paper up for free, we would appreciate a subscription and/or donation because for a paper that does not accept paid advertising, does not own the means of production and is not the organ of a political party, the difficulties are many. Won't you subscribe and help us out? We have just paid for the first issue and we are interested in continuing but we need you, the reader's support. We need to pass the hat among a bigger group than our immediate friends.

In the past we have mailed a number of issues at our own expense to groups and/or individuals who we felt might be supportive or interested. This is the last issue we are sending to folks who haven't responded in one way or another. Yours for Social Revolution, The Front Line Collective.

RAINBOW

by Scott Rodell

The Rainbow Nation, by far one of the most unpublicized of the new age groups to emerge out of the 60's, has as many as 15,000 people attending its yearly "gathering." The Nation or Family, as it is sometimes called, is a loosely-knit bunch of "tribes"; which, besides its large following, has over 1800 communal farms. The only way I can describe them is to say they are the true flower children, the embodiment of the 60's spirit, and very much a separate culture (not a subculture). They are decentralized and the local groups do differ, yet they are very much one.

If the Anarchists are the political anti-authoritarians, then the Rainbow Family is their social counterpart. This can best be seen in the way the family celebrates life. All their holidays are spontaneous and spiritually tied to the mother earth, often coinciding with the seasons or solstice. The agenda for one of these holidays is just as spontaneous as the time and place. There is no central committee or bureaucracy to this nation. A Rainbow's only leader is his/her spirit. The only formality tying them all together being "The Rainbow Nation Guide" which lists Rainbows (people), farms, group houses and healers.

Every first of July through the seventh, the entire nation tries to come together in what is commonly referred to as the Rainbow Gathering. This meeting is the only fixed date on the Rainbow calendar. Planning begins at the end of the previous gathering as people look forward to the next year's site, which is always in a national park and in a different state every year since its first in 1970. Once suitable sites have been located, the searchers gather at the family's center in Oregon, where they decide on a place and go about contacting the proper officials at the park. I should point out that this is not a place which houses a central committee or leadership; rather it is a meeting place where anyone who's interested may take part in the decision making process. Rainbows describe it as a "ghostly hierarchy which really has no power."

The next step is for a "Healing Caravan" of Rainbows to travel about the country (much like gypsies), spreading the word, and telling folks about the upcoming gathering. Meanwhile, about six weeks before the 1st, the seed camp arrives on the site to spiritually heal the earth. This same group of people will remain, after the thousands have left, to reseed the area.

Once the gathering begins, there are workshops on nearly everything, ranging from psychedelics to Sufi dancing, as well as Vegetarian and Krisna kitchens. Each of these events is cleared via the tribal council which is held each night after dinner.

The tribal council is much like other Anarchist affinity groups, yet on a much grander scale. Anyone and everyone can and does speak. In order to insure harmony during this meeting, an eagle feather is passed from person to person. While one is holding it, he/she has the full attention of all and may not be interrupted. This type of courtesy is common in all spheres of Rainbow life—no person will be restrained so long as she/he is not doing any physical injury to a fellow human.

The gathering is not so much a holiday as it is a festival. They are not commemorating or honoring anything, rather it is a time to celebrate life. It is a time when people come together from all over to simply have a good time and share thoughts. But, it is also a time when they "enact the future." In the words of one interviewee, "It is the closest thing to successful Anarchy." The gathering is also a Rainbow out-reach tool. Through their harmony they demonstrate a new way of life to humankind.

It is important to remember that this nation within a nation is quite a separate culture. For they have created their society not as reaction to what is wrong in the U.S., but by borrowing what they believe to be the good positive things in life, from present and past cultures and what they have created. This can be seen in the Rainbow Nation's only symbol—the Rainbow. To them, it symbolizes humanity blending together. Interestingly enough their symbol is only real when produced by nature.

The Rainbow Tribal Gathering will take place in Washington State this year from July 1-7. For further information about this FREE event contact: Box 9712 Seattle, Washington 98109.



WHO

SHOT

R.R.?

THEY
CHECK IN...THE AMERICAN
ROACH MOTEL...BUT THEY
DON'T CHECK OUT!!

WHO SHOT R.R.?

By Freddy Demuth

If there is one thing people should have learned over the past several years it is that one should never trust the FBI to tell one the truth. I mean, who really believes the "official story" of the JFK shooting? And just look at the evidence this time: The assailant was first described by an eyewitness as being in his late thirties to early forties. The suspect held by the FBI is twenty-five. There were early reports of a second gunman shooting from a window of a building. One camera panned up as though seeking to film the source of gunfire coming from above. What ever became of this? Remember, the angle of the bullet was downward according to the hospital's official spokesperson. There were further inconsistencies in reports of the gun, caliber. Originally it was reported that a 38-caliber weapon was used. Later the FBI produced a 22-caliber weapon as the gun used in the shootings. It should be noted that two doctors in separate interviews stated that there was an extraordinarily heavy loss of blood for a wound by a weapon of such small caliber. Furthermore, the bullet was mangled to an extent that its caliber can no longer be determined as a result of striking a rib, yet no damage was done to the rib. And the FBI later reported that the bullets used in the shootings were of an explosive type. It all sounds pretty fishy to me.

But if we are being fooled again, who really did it? Well, in a lot of the detective stories I've read the spouse is the first suspect. I think in this case we can dismiss this possibility without too much trouble. Can one really imagine Nancy willingly giving up her plans to redecorate the White House when she'd hardly had a chance to even get started? Obviously unthinkable.

Radicals and dissidents make good suspects for attempted political assassinations. Nobody likes them much anyway: they tend to be rude and unkempt and...well, just not nice. Besides, we have been led to believe they are always being sent guns and bombs and such from Russia. Again, I'm afraid, we have hit a dead end. These people made their feelings known some time ago and in no uncertain terms: Shoot Bush First. Granted men in gray business suits all tend to look alike, but I think it unlikely that Reagan would be mistaken for Bush.

Most assaults on American political figures in recent years have been blamed on crazy people. I suspect this is what the FBI will want us to believe this time also. Could it be true? After all it is certain that no sane person would have voted for Ronald Reagan in last November's election. Yet, Ronnie did win. Therefore it would seem that he must have gotten the vote of the crazy people. Would they then attempt to do in one of their own? I suppose the FBI will tell us that one can just never tell what a crazy person will do. And I must admit, the outcome of the election does tend to support that.

But what about the CIA? We know they have been involved in this type of thing in the past. In recent years, we have been led to believe, their covert activities have been greatly curtailed. Recently however, this has begun to change. Could the Reagan shooting have been a "hands on" training exercise for new agents who were not around to acquire these kinds of skills earlier? Or maybe for older agents who'd gotten a bit rusty? But what motive could the CIA possibly have had for shooting the most reactionary president we've had since Nixon, maybe even longer? I think more and more people are beginning to feel that four years of Ronald Reagan may do them more harm than good. That he was perhaps not the lesser of the two evils from which they could have chosen last fall. That maybe both choices were unacceptably bad. At any rate, popular support for his policies has been steadily decreasing. If the CIA was responsible for the shooting of Ronald Reagan, it may well have been in the expectation that sympathy for the man would be extended to the policies he stands for. The scary part is that this may happen no matter who actually pulled the trigger.

DREEING A WIERD: THE LIGHTER SIDE

by Jenny Stern

Face it, these have been peculiar times in D.C. For a while it looked like the prophecies, the writing on the walls...Nobody for President...might become a reality. Anyway, Reagan's gone ahead and had his bloodbath and gotten it over with. More than a few folks were twitching like prophetic weather-vane-insects the hours before the shots were fired outside the Hilton Hotel. Near-death got broadcast live on ABC. And over and over again. Backwards. Forwards in slow motion. And then frame by frame until boredom and dis-interest set in. All over America, people got to see the Uzi machine-gun uncorked outside the hotel. For awhile it looked like the media crews were going to get it next. "Get back mother-fuckers, get back."

It was just a day before the assassination attempt that several of us 'Taxi Driver' movie buffs sat at an interesting focus, a place where a railroad, an airfield, a river and highway all converged. It was a rare day for Spring and we all got high on smoke and Bush beer. We came up with Am Bush beer and got higher singing: "Haig for Life and Army into Power" until the sun went down. We'll leave the stuff out about burying the placenta and the recent death of a young Yippie in a tragic car wreck.

Whether public demonstrations contain elements of ceremonial magic need not be discussed here and the concept of government as an essentially occult society can't be gone into at this time either, but the times have been strange. For instance: Semi-cured hog faces, startling bits of meat, showed up in groceries all over DC just days prior to Reagan's Inauguration. And for all over you conspiracy freek out there, let it be known that 13 days before the attempted killing of the President, black paint splotches, blood-like, appeared mysteriously high on the walls of the very same Hilton Hotel. How they got there nobody knows but some people have reason to believe they were put there by an out-of-town prank group with ties to the Jody Foster Fan Club International.

But leading up to these weird times, an investigative reporter for the New York Tabloid, 'Overthrow', based here in D.C., was driving to the Maine Avenue fish market when she saw a large number of police gathered solemnly around the tidal basin. Not just your traffic cops but the guys in white shirts with scrambled eggs on their hat brims. And cops in rubber suits which is a sight to see. And cops in little row boats. And the video teams from the media too. There was even a big truck marked "EXPLOSIVES". Our reporter friend, coming back from the fish wharf, noticed the scene was still going on but there was no place for her to park and besides she was hungry and figured with that much attention the fishy story would probably be on local TV, but surprisingly enough there was nothing in the papers and nothing on the tv until days later when the event at the tidal basin was presented as a laughable ending.

Something about eggplants inside of plastic bags being retrieved from the tidal basin. Some fisherman had reported snagging a fetus or something. Plastic bags with eggplants in them. But not ordinary eggplants. Seems these vegetables had been tampered with, lobotomized if you will. Each one was carefully cut and then sewn up neatly. And inside each one was a piece of paper, so we are told, with a name written on it. According to Channel 7 local news, police blamed an occult group for the prank or hoax but details were definitely not forthcoming and our local reporter friend told us that everyone concerned with the event had either changed their phone number or gotten out of town. But why the bomb detail and why and what was really going on? Like a voodoo curse mixed up in the swirl of assassination attempts this will probably always remain an enigma.

But when eggplants of a similar description began showing up in the neighborhood some of us began to wonder if some kind of bizarre chain letter was making itself known.

Returning from some dead-ends, our reporter friend discovered some lettering traced in the dust of a tunnel: "Icebags, more and more icebags, cram it down your throat,

On the Destruction of Communication:

Ideas for setting your mind in a condition of



icebags. Icebags have something to say. Why don't you let them say it. Icebags to bloody fuck iced." Only later does our reporter friend learn that the eggplants, the evidence, rapidly deteriorated as they obviously had not been put on ice.

Those FNORDS again? About this time Yippie home and press is bombed, injuring two cops and then "SO HO" news goes after Yippie Danna Beal, calling him the "Jones-town of Bleeker Street" and stressing in their article what they call "the souring of Yippie and the new death-wish personality cult surrounding Beal". Coming back from the New York "Kool Aid" conference, which was hardly Jonestown, our friendly reporter noticed all over DC colorfully painted bananas on walls and buildings. Some purple, some pink, some orange. First the vegetables, the eggplants and now the fruits...Where are we headed?

To Hinkley? Face it, he did a better job of it than the man in the street could have. Must have been that Nazi Storm Trooper training. Some people call those bullets DEVASTATORS. We call them fakes but he did put a little "AM BUSH" in our lives. Hinkley, the kid, our aspiring assassin buys revolvers regularly, never works, stays in cheap hotels (you call \$50 a night cheap?) and enrolls in the Jody Foster Fan Club. None of this is cheap, friends. Picture Hink eavesdropping on Dad and older bro and George Bush and son and then hitting the assassination trail.

To see on TV the Nazis opt for respectability is sickening. To hear the Nazis say that young Hink was just too violent for them, the murders of the Greensboro Five, is off the wall. Imagine having "a nice day" at Auschwitz? Imagine a Dachau with no victims?

INCORRECT

Sedation
Vanguard parties
Freedom of religion
Legal practice
Behaviorism
Meditation
Leninism
Praying
Free trade
Counter-culture
Political movements
Dad
Revelation
Wars
Classical liberals
Reason
Sects
Capital punishment

Atomic power
Lawyers
Homophobia
Separation of church and state
Consultants
Elections
Force
Historical materialism
Racism
Neurotics
Positive thinking
Libertarians
TV
Theologians
Foreign affairs

CORRECT

After-hours parties
Freedom from religion
Target practice
Misbehaviorism
Premeditation
Lennonism
Playing
Rough trade
Counter-culture
Pelvic movements
Dada
Revolution
Whores
Rococo liberals
Treason
Sex
The punishment of capital
Anomic power
Scoff lawyers
Nomophobia
Abolition of church and state
Insultants
Erections
Farce
Hysterical materialism
Erase-ism
Erotics
Positive drinking
Libertines
TV's
Neologians
Foreign affairs

LEVITY IS THE
FOURTH DIMENSION

THE CORRECT LINE:
A PRIMER FOR PINHEADS

Bob Black

The Last International

A spectre is haunting Terra: the spectre of comedy. East and West, "left" and right, power's pimps and property's property (businessmen and bureaucrats, socialists and socialities, commissars and clergymen, Coke and Pepsi)—all the fat cats and phonies and their marching morons and stultified tools are as one in their efforts to exorcise the mockery of those who fly in *under their radar*. Banished or bridled again and again, the Trickster always gives them the slip in the end, wearing countless faces as the institutionalized slip on their faeces. They'll never catch the roadrunner!

And now the time has come "to make the silence audible"...with the radio off. Ragnarok'n'roll is here to stay. "Take back the night"? Why settle for half-measures? For the unbossed and unbought it is better to score than to keep score, better to prey than to pray. Let all she-and-hedonists shit-can the (sub)humanists; let hungry Morlocks everywhere eat the rich; let the ludic and the Luddites put an end to that supreme servitude *work*. The depressive have reason to dispose of the repressive. Why not take the socio path? It leads to leaderless life of permanent revelry beyond the Reality Principle.

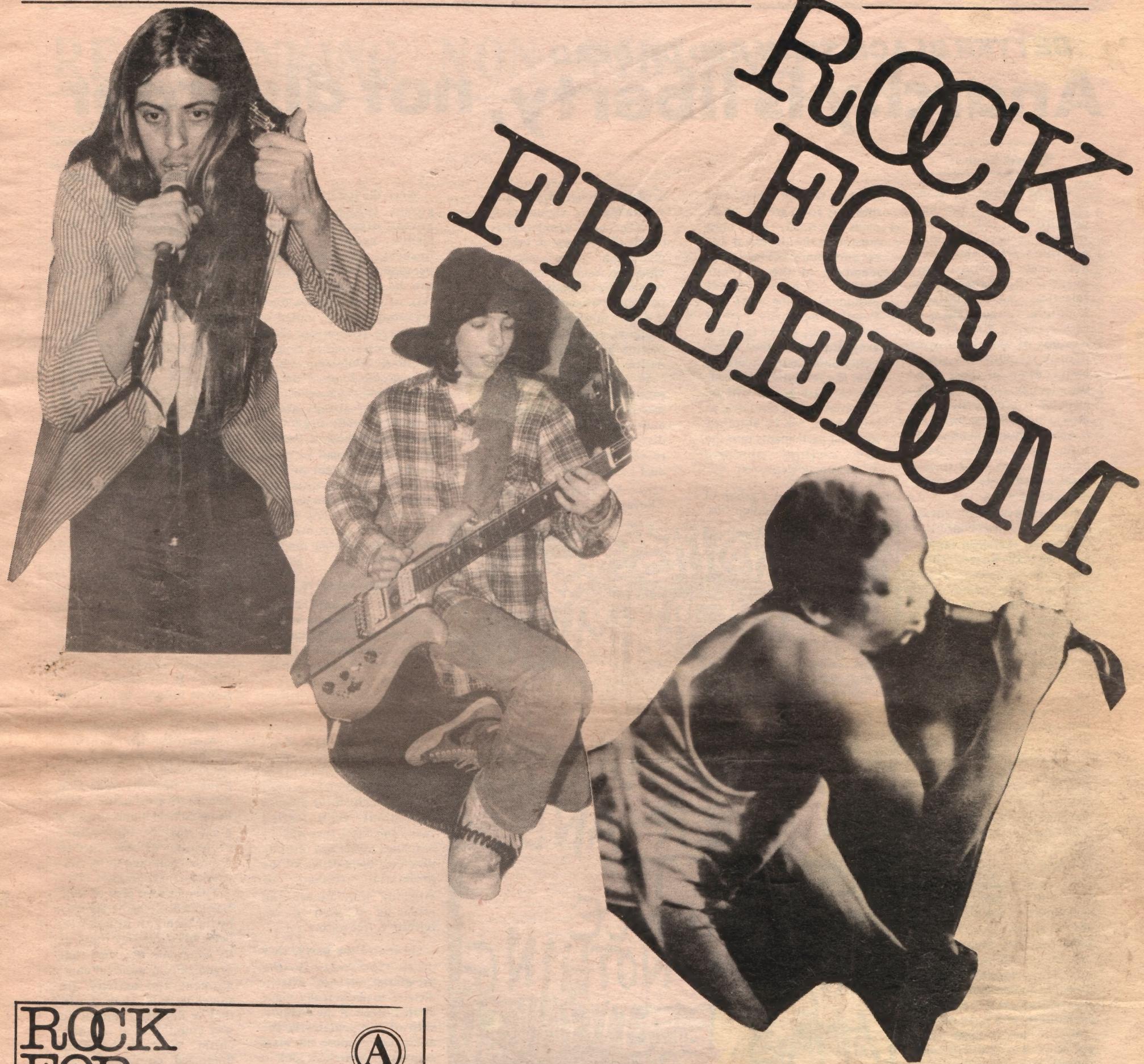
As the economy implodes and the culture corrodes and the old world erodes, as even the oblivious incline toward Oblomovism, as time runs out on the time-clock—with Armageddon imminent, the sentients and sensitives had better make sure that the Antichrist *wins*. It's autism against *oughtism*! Necronomics is bankrupt: statism is withering away. This is the fight to finish between Them and Us, between gorillas and guerillas, quantity and quality, Marxists and Groucho Marxists, the inane and the insane, Locke and Loki, the Syndicate and the cynical, the Trots and the hot-to-trot, common sense and communal sensuality, Catholics and catholics, Protestants and protestants, the ruling class and the *declassé*, the static and the stateless, the negation of pleasure—and the pleasure of negation. All reef!

Despite what you may have heard, the "correct line" is *not* what the cop makes you walk when he pulls you over. Confused by Cartesian, Manichean, left brain/right brain structuralist binary oppositions crosshatching the wrinkles on your brain? Would you hesitate to play cless with Karen Quinlan? Your prudence (but not your prudishness) is commendable and, hopefully, not commandable. What you need is a different (but not diffident) industrial-strength ideology, a foray into *fuckturalism*, the (non-Illuminist) illumination of *north-brain* consciousness, a plunge into 3-chord politics and nothing-leftism. Too much is enough! Self-help means help yourself! Pursue liberation through logosexuality: see for yourself how cunning-linguistics adds a whole new dimension to oral sex. Use the power of absurdity to expose the absurdity of power. You say you hear a different drummer? Maybe so—but is the rhythm *syncopated*? Give yourself permission to feel okay about trashing the Totality and its countless licensed loyal oppositions, its artfully engineered illusory alternatives to itself. Accept no substitutes!

You're entitled, after millenia of civilization, after centuries of industrialism, after decades of schooling, after years of television, after months of rock music, after minutes of reading—you're entitled to the *straight poop*. And here it is, the question to the answer you've been hearing all your life, the *correct line*:

"The world has been changed, only to stay the same. Today courage is all that is missing. Time of insurrection gone? Realize a petty life through the prism of private happiness? Forget yourself to give life to dull commodities? Never was it more depressing than today to speak about normal life without feeling disgust. If we want to breathe freely, to experience ourselves totally and begin our history, the first step necessary is a radical revolution. Everyone faces misery but the point is to end it."

From A Subrealistic Manifesto



ROCK FOR FREEDOM

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MAY 1

3thirty-8 PM

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Action Mamas · Rupert ·

Mad Maty & the Maniacs · Others...

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MAY 1

BETTER BLACK THAN RED OR DEAD

Anarchy is liberty, not disorder

By Mark Brothers

A large number of prisoners, feminists and one-time authoritarian Leftists have recently become conscious anarchists. Often this move has been prompted by negative experiences—the rejection of Marxism-Leninism or capitalism—rather than a firm understanding of anarchism as a positive revolutionary alternative. Many of those who turn to anarchism quickly abandon it because they see little being built and feel that it offers no organizational forms. But, in fact, anarchism contains solid structural alternatives to other forms of socialism.

There have been three major forms of socialism—libertarian socialism (anarchism), 'authoritarian' socialism (Marxist communism) and democratic socialism (electoral social democracy). The non-anarchist left has echoed the bourgeoisie's portrayal of anarchism as an ideology of chaos and lunacy. But anarchism, and especially anarchist-communism, has nothing in common with this image; anarchists are social revolutionaries who seek a stateless, voluntary, co-operative federation of decentralized communities—based upon social ownership, individual liberty and autonomous self-management.

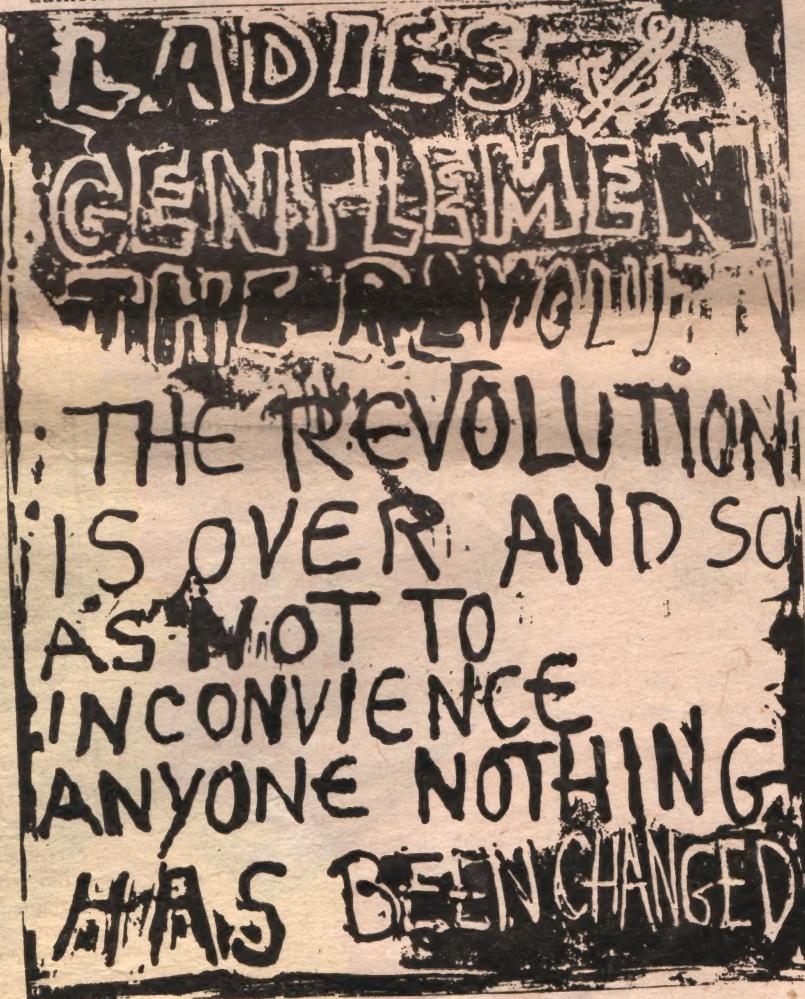
Organizationally, they differ from the authoritarian revolutionary socialists, the Marxist-Leninists, in, primarily, three ways. Anarchists reject the M-L notions of the **vanguard party**, **democratic centralism** and the **dictatorship of the proletariat**, and **have alternatives** to each of them. The problem is that almost the entire left, including some anarchists, is completely unaware of anarchism's tangible structural alternatives of the **catalyst group**, **anarchist consensus** and the **mass commune**.

Catalyst Group

The anarchist alternative to the **vanguard party** is the **catalyst group**. In order to make a revolution, large-scale, co-ordinated movements are necessary, and their formation is, in no way, counter to anarchism; what anarchists are opposed to is hierarchical, power-tripping leadership and undefined, ambiguous leadership which suppresses the creativity of the bulk of those involved. Obviously, some people are more experienced, articulate or skilled than others, and these people will play leadership roles (although there is a conscious attempt to continuously pass

on skills to each other), and they may form groups which drive forward, and help crystallize the potential for revolutionary change. The members of these groups reject hierarchical positions—having more 'official' authority than others—and, unlike the M-L vanguard parties, they won't perpetuate their leadership after the revolution. Instead, the catalyst group will be dissolved and its members, as individuals, will be absorbed as equal participants into the new societies' collective decision-making process.

We don't want a group of authoritarians "leading" us,



then establishing themselves as a centralized decision making command. Instead of "withering away," Marxist-Leninist parties have perpetuated authoritarian institutions to maintain their own power. The apparent effectiveness of such organizations—"we're just as efficient, disciplined and centralized as the capitalists!"—masks the way that 'revolutionaries' who pattern themselves after capitalist institutions (domination, hierarchy) become absorbed by bourgeois values, and completely isolated from the real needs and desires of ordinary people.

Anarchist Consensus

While anarchist groups reach decisions through anarchist consensus, the M-L's

organize through **democratic centralism** by which each member of a group—ultimately of a society—is subordinate to a "higher" member until one reaches the central committee. Members must participate when told to, even if they're unsupportive of the proposed project, or face expulsion by the central committee.

In anarchist groups, proposals are talked out by members (none of whom has authority over another), dissenting minorities are respected and each individual's participation is voluntary. As anarchist writer Murray Bookchin points out:

When the size of the work-groups (which could be groups organized around media, actions, theatre, finances...) becomes cumbersome, the organization can be decentralized into two, or several, autonomous organizations, still united in one large federation. This enables the group to expand limitlessly while maintaining its anarchic form of decentralized, self-management.

Anarchist groups aren't even *necessarily* organized loosely; anarchism is flexible and structures can be practically non-existent or very tight, depending upon the organization demanded by the conditions being faced. For instance, organization would tighten during military operations.

Mass Commune

Unlike members of Leninist parties, whose daily lives are generally similar to present bourgeois lifestyles, anarchist organizational structures and lifestyles (through communes, tribes, affinity groups...), attempt to reflect the liberated society of the future. Since the M-L's don't build co-operative structures, the nucleus of the new society (anarchists built them throughout the Spanish revolution), while tearing capitalism apart, they want to seize state power and institute their own dictatorship of the proletariat instead of crushing state power and replacing it with a co-operative, free society.

Of course the party, they insist, represents—is—the proletariat, and just what it dictates is never really made clear. Instead of the **dictatorship of the proletariat** the anarchists propose the **mass commune**. Anarchists look to a society in which real decision making involves every one who lives in it—a mass commune, not a few discipline freaks pulling the strings on a so-called "proletarian" dictatorship. While Marxists claim that this dictatorship is necessary in order to crush bourgeois counter-revolutions, anarchists feel that such a centralized State apparatus is a much easier target for opponents of the revolution than is an array of decentralized communes. And these communes would remain armed and prepared to defend the revolution against anyone who militarily moves against it.

We don't need the M-L's authoritarian solutions, but to much of the left the choice has appeared to be anarchic chaos or M-L organization, however authoritarian. But anarchism as an ideology

"I shall continue to be an impossible person so long as those who are now possible remain possible"



Mikhail Bakunin
(1814-1876)

provides feasible organizational structures which, if utilized, could be the basis for organizations just as solid as those of the M-L's; only these organizations would be egalitarian.

Anarchism isn't confined to the ideas of a specific theoretician and it allows individual creativity to develop in collective groupings. Not being cultist, it encourages a great deal of innovation, prompting its adherents to respond realistically to contemporary conditions.

The anarchist goal of total freedom isn't being stymied by the theory. It is, however, being obstructed by those of its adherents who feel that organization, political commitment and activity are somehow evil. They aren't; they're necessary and in no way counterposed to anarchism. We must build an organized, co-ordinated international movement aimed at transforming the globe into a mass commune.



"At first sight it might appear paradoxical that those aspiring to a non-alienated and creative society based on equality and freedom should 'break' with bourgeois conceptions only to espouse the hierarchical, dogmatic, manipulative and puritanical ideas of Leninism. It might appear odd that their 'rejection' of the irrational and arbitrarily imposed behavior patterns of bourgeois society, with its demands for uncritical obedience and acceptance of authority, should take the form of that epitome of alienated activity: Following the tortuous 'line' of a vanguard Party."

Maurice Brinton

ROCKING FOR FREEDOM

By Laslo Kovacs

Ever stop and wonder for a minute just how many, self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist "vanguards of the working class" there are these days in North America? All of them flaunt the antiquities of the central committee, the chairman big-brother figure, the youth brigade and their papers, "correct line tools to arm yourself with in the coming struggle." And each of these parties of course calls their office: "the true headquarters of the working class."

"You call this a party? The women are cold and the beer is warm."

Groucho Marx

There is nothing new and truly revolutionary about graveyard Marxist-Leninism as practiced and parroted by these relics of obsolete communism. When they call anarchism impractical and idealistic what they are really showing is their stale approach to the possibilities of social change. Anarchists want to fundamentally change the conditions of life and the social relationships that are practiced today. Anarchists want to invent something new not fall back on the past and merely replace one system with another where only the name is changed.

Today, more than ever, it is apparent that the communist parties and the Lech Walesa's are a threat to the autonomy of the workers struggle true aspirations, a threat as dangerous in some respects as the danger threatened by governments. The communist party in Spain would and could easily make a deal with the monarchy to dupe the workers into believing they had some sort of monarchy-communist society. You'll never find an anarchist lending a hand. On the dissidents side, leaders are easily manipulated by the powers that be.

But back to Parties. All of these sects report in their papers on basic social change, the people not the party in charge. Popular strikes and community struggles are embryo states the vanguards hope to lead and control and ultimately destroy. From an anarchist viewpoint it is too bad the Iranians fell for the Attolah and the Nicaraguans for the Sandinistas. They could have achieved far more without either one. Every time there is a struggle then the political parties come rushing on the scene to try to steal the people's revolt and call it their own, to co-op the revolutionary possibilities of a volatile situation, to re-channel energies and finally instill a new ruling elite, supposedly more receptive and a better reflection of the people. But anarchism makes no false claims of being a vanguard. Anarchism is just an impulse within the working class.

"You're gonna get it straight from the shoulder...you see the party's over"

Rolling Stones

Here in the US we have comedy teams of M-L sects going after each other in the scramble mad to come up with the mythical correctline. Once the CL is in hand then they can expose the "crass opportunism" of any rival cults.

Michael Bahunin's contributions to the revolutionary movement of his day have a direct impact on us today, one hundred years after his death. In the course of the First International two tendencies in the theory



and practice of socialism emerged: the authoritarian of Marx and the libertarian of Bakunin. These issues, which one hundred years ago seemed to be mere speculations, are today crucial to movements in capitalist nations but also in the totalitarian communist countries which call themselves "worker's states."

"New age I don't believe you. I thought you were talking about something new. New age I'm gonna destroy you after what you put me through."

Joey Shithead

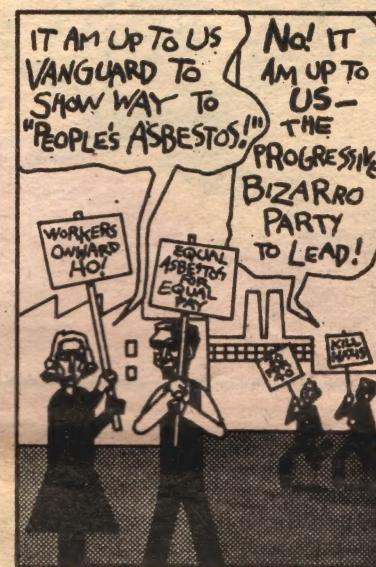
According to Bakunin "poverty and degradation are not enough to generate Social Revolution. They may call forth sporadic local rebellions, but not great and widespread mass uprisings... It is indispensable that the people be inspired by a universal ideal... that they have a general idea of their rights and a deep passionate... belief in the validity of these rights."

Today it is clear that Bakunin's vision of the class struggle and Social Revolution was far more accurate than the restricted perception of Marx. The mass base of the three great revolutions of our century, Russia, Spain and China, have been the peasants and unskilled workers, groups that Marx expressed withering contempt for.

Even the Russian revolution of 1917 followed Bakunin's outline: The councils of workers and peasants that sprang up in the vacuum of the collapse of the old order might have formed the basis of libertarian communism if not suppressed by the authoritarianism of Trotsky who deliberately hired on disgraced Czarist generals to conduct his wage of terror against the people in the name of his new ruling clique "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Bakunin had warned earlier: "There can be nothing living or human outside of freedom and a socialism that does not accept freedom as the only creative principle will inevitably lead to slavery and brutality."

"There are revolutionary alternatives, anarchist alternatives to authoritarian socialism as it is practiced throughout the world. Without putting down the valuable contributions of Marx which Bakunin appreciated and promoted in his day, anti-authoritarian socialists are today re-learning the lessons of the anarchist Bakunin with a hope to avoid the tragic mistakes of the past.



Bakunin warned repeatedly against the adoption of Marx's "dictatorship of the proletariat" and history has proved him correct. In 1873 Bakunin stated that "the leaders of the Communist Party, namely Mr Marx and his followers, will proceed to 'liberate' humanity in their own way. They will concentrate the reins of government in a strong hand... They will centralize all commercial, industrial, agricultural, and even scientific production, and then divide the masses into two armies—industrial and agricultural—under the direct command of state engineers, who will constitute a new privileged scientific and political class."

"Left wing, right wing...wings are for the birds. I'm a human being."

Abbie Hoffman

Today there is no way any honest person can really believe the Marxist line that the State will "wither away." History has proven different. Today it is clear that the nationalization of property and the means of production does not alter the inequality between those holding power and those under them, who are subjugated to it.

There is no mystery that the phenomena of Leninism has its roots in Marxism. For Bakunin, "humankind's deepest aspirations is for freedom whereas for the Lenin in power (a different person than the scheming exile) Freedom becomes a bourgeois middle-class virtue."

Bakunin insisted that revolution was impossible for people who had "lost the habit of freedom." Against Marx's economic determinism Bakunin left more room for the will of humankind, the aspiration to freedom and equality and the instinct of revolt... in other words the revolutionary consciousness of the oppressed.

Marxists have always called for the seizure of state power by a revolutionary party "in the name of" the working class, and the establishment of a dictatorship. Anarchism, on the other hand, insists that no coercive government can ever liberate people from domination and exploitation and "lead" them to a better life.

(Some of this was adapted from an article first published in OPEN ROAD.)

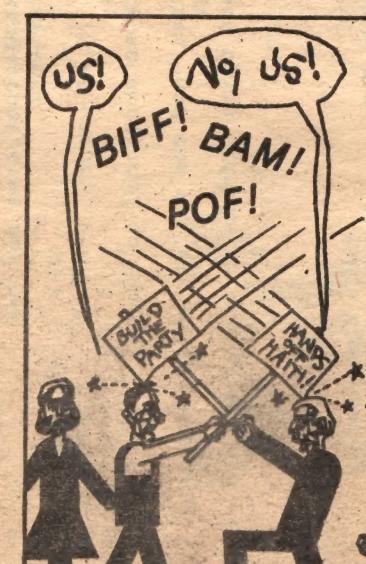


© 1979 PETER PONTIAC

The Future in Rebellion

by Jean Weir

"The key to the future is rebellion. It is not the politicized minority who create revolt, but the existence of exploitation. But we cannot blame the State for everything. There is a tendency within the movement which denies the importance of illegal action at grass roots level, and still persists in seeing rebellion in terms of the official movement. Struggle today does not lie in the hands of a few professional militants, but is a way of being, a way of everyday life for hundreds of thousands of people, and this area is forever widening its field of attack. The young people who have been pushed to the margins of capitalism are creating their own theory with their actions. They have realized not only that there is nothing for them within the present structure, but also that they want nothing from it. They want to destroy it in every form it presents itself, and this involves not only institutions, but the people who make them function as such. But it is not possible to draw a simple line between "authoritarian" groups who develop in such and such a way, and "libertarian" groups who automatically find the truth of the movement in the mass struggle. Any group which considers itself the "carrier of truth," and tries to impose its ideology on the situation, automatically take the side of the counter-revolution no matter how sweet the sound of their label is to the ears. This is not to say that all such comrades are consciously acting in bad faith. So let us begin to be wary of the order within our ranks, and look to the disorder around us."



RELIGION AS BANALITY...

'Everything that is doddering, squint-eyed, infamous, sulllying and grotesque is contained for me in this single word: **God**' — ANDRE BRETON

...DIVINITY AS TYRANNY

'If God really existed, it would be necessary to

abolish Him' — MICHAEL BAKUNIN

RELIGION IS DECEITFUL, DEPRAVED AND ABSURD — but don't underestimate it. There's a reason this decrepit relic of humanity's infancy still adorns class society. "The powers that be are ordained of God," says St. Paul. Not quite. God is ordained by the powers that be. His omnipotence expresses our impotence.

BABBLE ABOUT "THE WAGES OF SIN" serves to cover up the sin of wages. We want rights, not rites — sex, not sects. Only Eros and Eris belong in our pantheon. Surely the Nazarene necrophile has had his revenge by now. Remember, pain is just God's way of hurting you.

THE CHURCH (ANY CHURCH) IS CAPITAL'S CONSECRATED COP. Examples: Christianity (which is neither catholic nor protestant); Judaism (treating the prophets and raking in the profits); Islam (which means "submission") — plus all farcically fashionable mysticisms pushed by greedy gurus with lice in their beards.

FROM IRAN TO IRELAND, from Madrid to Miami, from the West Bank to West Virginia the faithful fulfill their function, suppressing subjectivity and sexuality in connivance with their eternal ally, the State. "Prisons are built with stones of law, brothels with bricks of Religion." (Blake).

AS FOR "GOD," suffice to say that absolute power corrupts absolutely. "God has sufficiently revealed His true character by combining the genital organ with the urinary tract" (Brecht). A person without God is like a fish without a bicycle. Be (diabo)logical . . . curb your dogma. Revolution, not revelation! Belief in God is self-managed mutilation. Why not deny God and affirm yourself?

GET THEE BEHIND ME, GOD!



deicide is a victimless crime

"MONEY IS NO OBJECT..."

Money is the subject. You're the object, chump. In the topsy-turvy world of capital, "things" are in the saddle and ride men. "Self-sale for survival saps our power and empowers the saps who are draining us. The system's jujitsu uses our own strength against us. With creation reduced to its parody, production, recreation becomes convalescence. In the free market, nothing and no one is free.

And trotting along behind with its coercive pooper-scooper to clean up capital's crap is -- what else? -- the state. The superstructure is base. Are you in a bad state? There aren't any good ones. Time to take questions from the floor(ed):

THE FAMILY?
THE LEFT?

DISEASE?
PROPERTY?

COUPLES?
FULL EMPLOYMENT?

RELIGION?
MARKISM?

TEACHERS?
GAYS? JEWS?

LEISURE?
NIHILISTS?

FEMINISM?
LAW?

THEORY?
THERAPY?

PUNKS?
THE RIGHT?

PLEASURE?
BOREDOM?

SEX?
ART?

CYNICISM?

No nukes!
Left behind.
Very dangerous: a leading cause of doctors.
Is theft — and theft is proper.
Monogamy is monotony.
A threat, not a promise.
Deifying your defects.
The highest stage of capitalism.
Outclassed.
Elites impersonating the oppressed.
Paying and Playing are mutually exclusive.
Going beyond good and evil, they stopped half-way.
Equality with men: a paltry ambition.
Crime without punishment.
Punishment without crime.
Hippies with amnesia.
Wrong.
Interludes that accentuate pain.
Obligatory for sophisticates.
An increasingly inadequate substitute for masturbation.
An increasingly inadequate substitute for sex.
Long since surpassed by events.

IT'S TIME to acknowledge that every trial is an error.
IT'S TIME to commute the sentence of everyone sentenced to commute.

IT'S TIME to empty the prisons, the churches, and the wallets of the wealthy.
IT'S TIME to take back the time that's been taken from us -- and time to have the time of our lives!

A brick-throwing incident on Haight Street Wednesday night was apparently part of an otherwise non-violent leaflet and graffiti campaign by a group calling itself "the Mindless Thugs," whom neighborhood residents believe to be college-educated anarchists.



thugs
mindless

We are all

When a Haight Street merchant offered a \$300 reward for the arrest and conviction of graffiti artists, a new leaflet responded.

"Put an end to \$300 rewards," it said. "Reward yourself by helping to arrest and eliminate the proliferation of authoritarian and capitalist relationships that paint us into a corner daily . . . further information can be found in your daily lives."

Other graffiti, attacking big and small business, landlords, churches and fast-food joints, seemed to indicate a free-wheeling anarchist approach, opposing all authority.

The Spectre of Comedy

IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM

TRULY, MARX HAS ALL THE ANSWERS. IF ONLY WE KNEW THE QUESTIONS!



"THE YOUNG MARX"

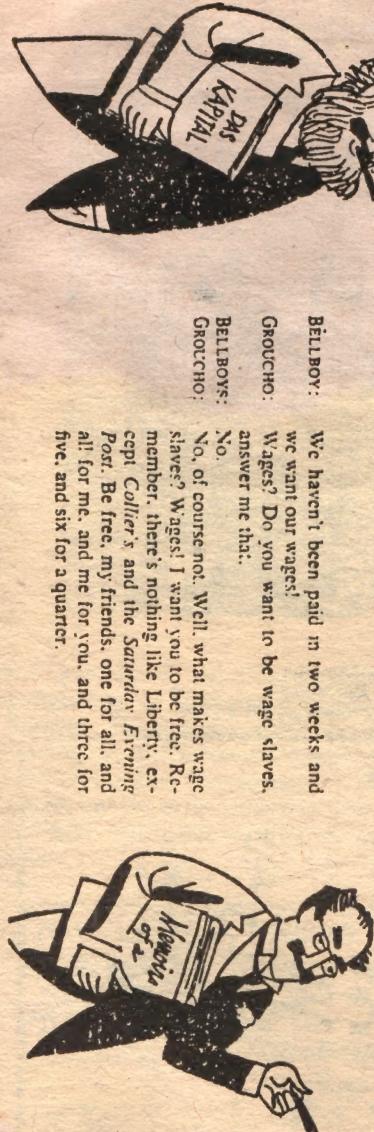
Marx on the Party:

A party? You call this a party? The beer is warm, the women are cold, and I'm hot under the collar!



THE OLD MARX

Marx on Wage-Slavery:



BELLBOY: We haven't been paid in two weeks and we want our wages!

GROUCHO: Wages? Do you want to be wage slaves, answer me that.

BELLBOY: No.

GROUCHO: No, of course not. Well, what makes wage slaves? Wages! I want you to be free. Remember, there's nothing like *Liberty, except Collier's* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. Be free, my friends, one for all, and all for me, and me for you, and three for five, and six for a quarter.

CAUTION: NOT ALL COMEDIANS ARE MARXISTS, BUT ALL MARXISTS ARE COMEDIANS. JEER THE DOMINANT FARCE! PUT SOME PUNCH BEHIND YOUR PUNCHLINES. S/HE WHO LAUGHS LAST, LAUGHS LAST.

Smirkers of the World, Unite!

The Last International



I am a Marxist, of the Groucho sort.—
Anonymous revolutionary in Paris, 1968

WORKERS OF THE WORLD... RELAX!

(WORKERS AGAINST WORK has received the following communiqué, signed "D.B. Cooper, Land of Cockayne.")

FELLOW LUMPENS:

WORK is what makes the System — work. Anybody who isn't revolting against work is working against revolt. To get the System out of our systems we need to shirk, not work. (As our Polish comrades proved when they got tired of being treated like kielbasa — and that's no Polack joke.)

SHOW ME a geek who says work is necessary and I'll show you a fat cat who doesn't do any.

SOME PEOPLE SAY we need full employment. I say we need full unemployment.

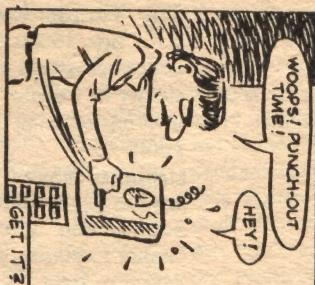
SOME PEOPLE SAY "anarchy won't work." That's not an argument against anarchy; that's an argument against work.

SOME PEOPLE SAY, "Sure, work sucks, but at least you get some free time afterwards." Well, the only reason they call it "free time" is that the boss doesn't have to pay you for it.

LIVING and earning a living are as different as capital punishment and the punishment of capital.

ON BEHALF of the working wounded everywhere, I hereby issue the following non-negotiable demands:

- FIRST, it's time to commute the sentences of everyone sentenced to commute;
- SECOND, it's time to stop paying and start playing!



Never Work



I'm going to say where you sleep all day,
Where they hung the Turk that invented work,
In the Big Rock Candy Mountains.

D.B. COOPER SAYS:
"PLAY FOR KEEPS!
SELF-HELP MEANS
HELP YOURSELF!"

Fuck work,
Before it fucks you.

TAKE IT EASY... BUT TAKE IT!

Anarcho-Resources

There is a lively alternative to obsolete old leftism. Check out the following papers and help out by making arrangements for your local food co-op, alternative bookstore or whatever to carry some of them or make arrangements to distribute them yourself.

Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sunday, Orkney KW17 2B1 UK is probably the most important anarchist publishing house today. For a catalog write Cienfuegos Distributions, 3512 12th Ave. So., Minneapolis, 55407.

Social Anarchism is a new journal of practice and theory available from 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Maryland 21218. Subs are \$3.50.

Industrial Worker, 3435 N. Sheffield Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60657 is the monthly paper of the legendary IWW. Send them a couple of bucks and they'll mail you an introductory subscription.

The New Indicator, UCSD B-023, La Jolla, CA 92093 is one of the best campus-community papers we've seen. Subs to this bi-monthly are \$7.00.

The Spectrum is a useful anarchist tabloid monthly available for \$4.00 subscription from 105 Rideau St., Ottawa K1N 5X1 Canada.

Emancipation is the monthly publication of Washington DC's anarchist collectives. Subs are \$3.50 from P.O. Box 840, Washington, DC 20044. Free to prisoners.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver BC, Canada V6R 4G5 was, and hopefully still is, the best anarchist paper in the English language. Back issues may still be available for one dollar each. A Spring issue is expected. As there are no subscription rates, send them an hour's worth of your pay to make sure this important paper continues.

The Fifth Estate, 4403 Second Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48201 is available for \$4.00 for 6 issues. What began years back as your standard underground paper continues today with an imaginative and refreshing view you won't find anywhere else. They also maintain an excellent mail-order book store.

The North American Anarchist, P.O. Box 2, Sta. O, Toronto, Canada M4A 2M8 is the six times a year publication of the Anarchist-Communist Federation. Good in-depth coverage from a libertarian socialist point of view. Subs are \$5.00.

Black and Green is the publication of the newly formed New England Anarchist Conference. Sample copies are \$1.00 and subs are \$6.00. Write NEAC, Box 373, Burlington, Vermont 05402.

Anarcy Rag is a one sheet, independent, social-anarchist newsletter distributed free from Circle A Gallery, 1015 Green St A3, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

The Newsletter of the National No-Nukes Prison Support Collective, C/O Jack Joppa, Box 1812, Madison, Wisconsin 53701 is free for the asking but they need donations to help continue this important work.

The Last International, #487, 55 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA 94104 will send you a starter kit if you write. Don't forget to enclose a buck to help with postage.

The Regan for Shah Committee, 1600 Woolsey Ave., Berkeley, CA 94703 has bumper stickers, buttons and other stuff. Set up a little Regan for Shah committee of your own.

Southern Agitator, 2115 Esplanade, New Orleans, LA 70019 is an informative publication with news or up-coming events and conferences. They also print up no-nuke net-working information.

Bayou La Rose is a free anarchist publication available from Kamalla, Rt. 3, Box 144D, Huntsville, Arkansas 72740. Be sure to enclose a donation to help them out.

Soil of Liberty, P.O. Box 7506, Powder-horn Sta., Minneapolis, MN 55407, has, in the recent issue, the best interview with Stuart Christie we've seen. Subs are \$4.00 but free to prisoners.

DAVE LIPPMAN

STICK INTO THE GEAR NELSON ROCKEFELLER SAN SALVADOR SWEEPSTAKES

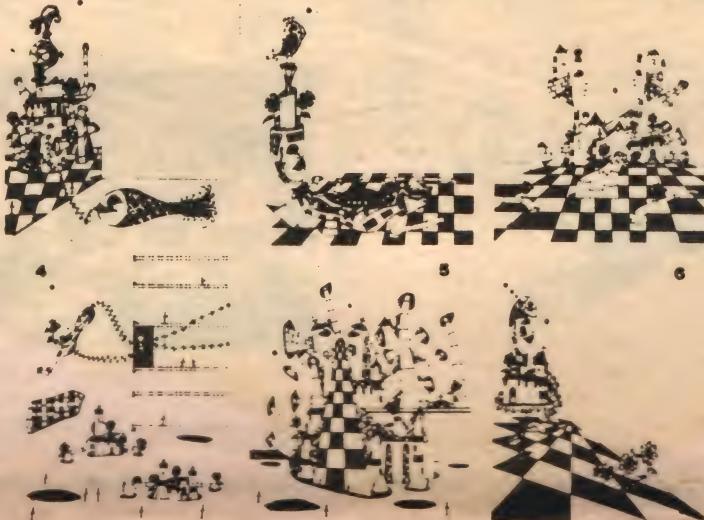
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Rita Brown Transferred

Rita D. Brown is a lesbian anarchist revolutionary, arrested in Seattle in Nov. 1977 for her actions as a member of the George Jackson Brigade, a revolutionary group committed to armed struggle. Rita spent the last three years at Alderson, W.Va., mostly in isolation.

We must help Rita in this process at the new prison. People in the Chicago area should try to visit her, see what she needs, try to get her a lawyer, give other support. The rest of us, we can write her at: MCC Chicago, 71 W. Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.

Money to cover long distance calls, books, periodicals, clothes, etc., can be sent to her defense committee, P.O. Box 705, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

BULLDOZER

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Bulldozer, Box 5052, Sta A, Toronto, Canada M5W 1W4 is a publication devoted to the prisoner's struggle. *Bulldozer*, "the only vehicle for prison reform".

Graphic Equalizer is the newsletter of Detroit Rock Against Racism. Send them a buck and they'll send you what they've done so far. 280 Ferris, Highland Park, MI 48203.

Flashpoint, Box 7702, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada is an ir-regularly published anarchist tabloid. Subs are \$4.00 for 12 issues. Not a flashy paper but informative.

Christian Love is an interesting pamphlet available for a buck from David Sonenschein, 612 Pressler, Austin, Texas 78703.

The North American Anarchist Network, POB 18488, Denver, Colorado 80218 is an innovative project. Every three months participants type up a page or two, make 50 copies and send them off and then receive a copy of what everybody else submitted. A good idea. We hope it works out.

Overthrow, a Yipster Times publication, POB 392 Canal St Station, NYC 10009 is available by subscription for \$10.00. Recent issue had decisive articles on Reagan's gang.

Wooden Shoe Books, 112 So 20th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103 has the best selection of anarchist books and papers in the area. They occassionally put out a catalog.

Vanity Press, 160 Sixth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10013 publishes Tuli Kupferberg's 'Questionable Cartoons' and yes the Revolting Theater offers a radical vaudeville. Performances can be arranged by calling 212-925-3823.

The Mill Hunk Herald, 916 Middle St., Pittsburgh, PA 15212 is a working-class quarterly available for \$3.00 a year.

The Little Free Press, 715 E. 14th St., Minneapolis, MN 55404 is just that. Write for free samples.

Post Depression, P.O. Box 40256, San Francisco, CA 94140 puts out leaflets from a post-situationalist view.

TUFF is the newsletter of Those United to Fight Fascism, P.O. Box 15366, Columbus, Ohio, 43215. Subs and membership are \$5.00.

Anarchist Black Dragon is currently available from Solidarity Committee, C.P. 2 Succ., La Cite, Montreal, Canada H2W 2M9. This paper is put together by anarchist prisoners and published by an outside support group. They need your financial support.

The Tampa Workers Affinity Group, P.O. Box 16000 SG, Tampa, FLA 33687 issues occasional statements. Most recent on events in Poland and El Salvador from an uncompromising libertarian socialist viewpoint.

Umanita Nova is the excellent weekly publication of the Italian Anarchist Federation. Subscription information available from Gianni Costanza, Casella postale 12, 901 33 Palermo, Italy.

C.D.A. is the free-wheeling publication of the Centro Documentazione Anarchica, Via Giudo Reni 96/6, -10136 Torino, Italy.

Le Libertaire, 25, rue Dume-d'Alepont, 76600 Le Havre, France is a French Anarchist review.

Anarchy Comix, Edited by Jay Kinney, Last Gasp, P.O. Box 212, Berkeley, CA 94705. Copies available for \$1.50 each for numbers one and two so far published. They desire feedback. Issue #3 is in the works.

Pulp Press, P.O. Box 3868, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6B 323 is a book publisher with some recent anarchist titles.

Friends Records, 319 E. Broadway, Vancouver Canada puts out DOA's album "Something Better Change," the Subhuman's "Incorrect Thoughts" as well as "Vancouver Independence," a group effort of eight bands. You can order the records direct or get your local store to carry them.

Toxic Shock, POB 242, Pomona, CA 91769 has a mail order service for hard to get punk rock like Black Flag, Dead Kennedys and the Flesheaters. They also sell buttons. Write for catalog.

RE-THINKING NON-VIOLENCE

Re-thinking Direct Action & Non-violence

by Jake Nadeau

"The visionary is the only true realist."
—Federico Fellini

1981 and the beginning of the so-called Reagan Era are not that grim a prospect. All this new condition does is force reality on us a little more urgently. The revolutionary task, now thrust in our faces, of reconstructing this society has always been inevitable for each of us. It is, of course, a time of crisis, but for people who are alive and awake, it is always a time of crisis. If the present seems dangerous (which it certainly does!) then everything is normal and conditions are now ideal for building a far-reaching radical culture in America. The trick will be to stay free from self-defeating methods.

The start of the 1980s finds anarchists and other left progressives at the end—or perhaps only in the middle—of a series of partial victories and partial failures. We should look closely at the prominent qualities of these victories and failures, because much of our future depends on how we use the lessons we should have learned during the last 10 or 20 years, and much depends on not repeating the mistakes of those years. The questions we want to consider here concern the nature and techniques of non-violent action in its many forms, and how these have been misunderstood and misapplied by movement groups dominated by liberals, social democrats, New Age-ists and other people lacking a full critique of contemporary society. Discovering for yourself the fine line of meaning between actions and forms can become the difference between support of the power structure and the creation of revolutionary change.

During the 1960s and '70s, civil rights, New Left, anti-war and anti-nuclear political efforts largely relied on certain types of direct action, civil disobedience and non-violent protests as means for attaining desired goals. In the '60s the cutting edge of non-violent acts of protest in civil rights struggles tended to be sharper than in later years because these actions were in such contrast to the many city-wide insurrections which were erupting and to the open violence of the police against demonstrators. With the weight of federal law and the presence of 30 million black Americans standing in at least partial support of these acts of civil protest, it was possible to be disobedient yet bring acceptance and gain legal status.

Many of the other efforts of the last two decades have also attained impressive goals. The force of the anti-war movement had a great deal to do with encouraging draft resistance and eventually with troop withdrawal from Vietnam. The anti-nuclear movement since 1977 has certainly helped to reduce the numbers of nuclear plant orders within the United States—if not the spread of nukes to third world nations. Also, as in all left political activism, the strategies and ideas for progressive change employed by the movement have touched many people and altered their lives forever.

But it is also apparent that these campaigns, by restricting activities to standard methods of protest and by measuring success by its influence in policy of the bourgeois-governmental power structure, have missed opportunities to build the world of freedom and justice activists claim they want. The enemy of radical revolution in America—namely federal and state bureaucracy, the Democratic and Republican parties, the corporations, their allied institutions in the form of universities, research and planning groups, and the network of civic, business and professional associations—have consistently been able to maintain economic, political and social power by granting small demands and thus undercutting efforts for structural change in society itself. This has been the natural outcome of the movement's recognition and acceptance of the authority of the state, their corporations and their hierarchy. It has also been a result of the movement's reliance on civil disobedience instead of the anarchist concept of direct action.

The general liberal or reformist tendency is to give the system in power one more chance to straighten itself out. Show the way to an enlightened choice and suddenly all the "leaders" will say: "Gosh darn! That's a keen idea. Why didn't we boys think of that?" Direct action is something very different: an energetic attempt to go around the system and thus erase the decision-making power alleged to be in the hands of the powerful. Only direct actions bring change because only these actions, created free of established authority, make the old system irrelevant and thus a certain candidate for a steady withering away. Civil disobedience respects authority, direct action ignores it. Civil disobedience is the voice of guilt and self-deception, direct action is a declaration of autonomy.

Many of the successful protest struggles of the last 20 years have drawn attitudes, ideas and techniques from the political action campaigns of Mahatma Gandhi and the Sicilian community organizer Danilo Dolci. Both Gandhi and Dolci had in turn developed much of their beliefs from the radical Christian anarchist writings of Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi created his Satyagraha (or "truth force") movement out of his own shrewd political intelligence but also based it on Tolstoy's belief that the human's highest duty is to love his fellow humans and resist all evil and violence, a teaching taken from the Russian author's pamphlet "The Kingdom of God is Within You." Gandhi, through his efforts, brought national independence and a partial social revolution to India; Dolci, staging protests on a far smaller scale, has helped to change the economic life of Sicily and empower a people formerly stranded in powerlessness. But what many American activists who employ "Gandhian politics" do not seem to notice is that Dolci and Gandhi assured success and continuity as base for political struggle. Movements evolve and fall apart in the United States with the regularity of a ticking clock because many of the people involved wish to drift back to the comforts and ego-enhancements of bourgeois "lifestyles" as soon as properly symbolic numbers of members from their instant affinity groups have been taken off for a brief stay in jail. The psychology of true community and genuine human love must reach far beyond involvement in a picket line or time spent in a seminar or study group on non-violence. The belief that you as an individual have embraced authentic non-violence and revolutionary change through token involvement in protests is merely a joke. Understanding of the nature of change and giving total commitment for radical democracy and classlessness is the essential starting point for real revolutionary labor. Without these ingredients the politics of so-called non-violence are self-defeating and a sham.



Life has never been easy for radical egalitarians, and I do not wish to make it more difficult for any individuals by calling names. There are, of course, persons of intelligence, beauty and moral grace associated with MNS and many other NEW AGE or post-freak efforts, but there is an important and subtle point to be stressed here: when an individual's critical intelligence is abandoned for the seemingly worthy purpose of protecting community, a group's identity or formal ideology, or one's one need for belongingness and solace, then the seeds of injustice (by way of "group-think") have been planted once again. It is a problem which may be found in tight political groups, in new farm communes, among guru-oriented East-come-to-West organizations and all other collectives of people who have attempted to build a subculture haven.

The hippie ethic of the 1960's was one of the most perfect, non-violent and useful doctrines for social change and personal happiness and transcendence ever devised; even in its most "mystical" visions it had total correctness and precision. The wisdom of egolessness and non-clinging that runs through all the yogic, Buddhist, Taoist and Sufi communities in the west is equally perfect and useful. But the beliefs and fine qualities of these social factions can often be pushed aside or turned inside-out when the individual drops his or her critical capacity in order to identify with one force (i.e., a group's sense of character, method or image) while rejecting contrasting elements or modes of perceiving.

The misfiring of justice and the corruption of community take place when the stoic virtues of democratic life are abandoned in favor of a sense of psychological certainty. To bring true community and lasting radical change through the anarchist concept of non-violent direct action it is always necessary to maintain independence in critical thought, a gentle acceptance of human weakness, humility in the face of complex truths, a refusal to abandon personal choice or responsibility, and finally a willingness to choose conscience and uncertainty rather than submission and safety.

The natural path for all anarchists to follow is that of building directly the world he or she knows we must have. Persons who need therapy should take care of that first and then come into political work when they can handle the brutal realities and frustrations of revolutionary struggle. A new climate of good sense and rebellion is moving through contemporary society, and people of intelligence and courage on every level see increasingly that only they can build the free existence that is their birthright. Each of us must learn to live with both vision and a sense of the practical while being wary of the temptation to wait for history to take care of our desires. Don't sit back and acquiesce, break out now, and create!



The Labor Party Illusion

The cry for a Labor Party is again being heard from all sides. Some of the Socialist Party people are agitating for it. The Trotskyites are currently in favor of it and Meany (now deceased), President of the AFL-CIO, climbs on and off the band-wagon as the spirit moves him or as policy considerations dictate.

Agitation for a labor party is almost as old as the labor movement itself. Numerous beginnings in this direction have at times been made. In 1820, the Workingmen's Party in New York received 6,000 out of 21,000 votes cast, a higher proportion than any other independent movement has since achieved.

At times, the sentiment for a Labor Party has been confined to small radical and liberal groups on the fringes of the broader labor movement. At other times, powerful coalitions with a mass following, including unions and farmer's organizations, have organized large mass movements such as the Populists of the last century and the two "Progressive Parties" of Robert La Follette and Henry Wallace.

At the 1936 convention of the AFL, 104 delegates, representing a powerful bloc of unions, small, and large, came close to committing the Federation to working for the establishment of a Labor Party. Such a policy would have been the reversal of the traditional position which called for "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies," among the Republican and Democratic Parties. Other examples of Labor Party attempts have been the American Labor Party in New York State and the Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota and surrounding states.

In addition to those who have wanted a distinct political party of labor based on the unions, independent of and in opposition to the old line parties, there have been organizations such as the Socialist Party, that oscillated between running their own candidates and supporting capitalist "friends of labor." Despite their differences, all the radical tendencies supporting parliamentary action by the workers base their attitudes on the belief that such action can in some way alleviate or cure social ills.

Those who favor independent electoral action by labor reason that ". . . the United States is a democracy in which the majority rules. We, the workers, farmers, and small businessmen, are the majority of the people. We have voted for the Republicans and the Democrats and they have betrayed us. We must now establish a political party controlled by ourselves and run our own candidates. They will surely be elected, since we have a majority. Then, the government controlled by us will legislate in our favor. . . ."

At first sight this appears reasonable. What could be simpler? However, a closer examination reveals that this argument is based on fundamental political and economic misconceptions. The idea of a Labor Party is based on the widespread myth that in a democracy the majority rules. This is a myth that must be exposed.

Leon Blum, the eminent French politician, whose vast and unsavory experience qualifies him as an expert on the subject, remarked that:

. . . the parliamentary regime is a regime of PARTIES. Jean Jacques Rousseau, the philosopher of democratic government, would not endorse "representative government" as it is practiced today. In *The Social Contract*, Rousseau wrote that the deputies of the people cannot and should not be the people's representatives. . . . they can only be its servants. . . . The moment that people give power to their representatives . . . they abdicate their liberty. . . .

The fundamental principle of EVERY political party, regardless of the form of government, is the same. V.O. Key, professor of government at Yale University, in his penetrating analysis, *Parties, Politics, and Pressure Groups* has this to say:

. . . it is sometimes said that the method by which a party seeks to gain control of the government is the unique characteristic of the party or the group. The American party uses peaceful methods of campaigning and appeal for to gain power, which is said to differentiate it from other factions . . . which struggle for power by use of military force. . . .

. . . the theory is advanced that the modern party and the democratic electoral process are but a sublimation, perhaps temporary, of the tendency to resort to force to gain control of the government. . . . This theory gives a clue to the nature of the party struggle . . . the term "party" is applied equally to the peaceful parties of America and the Communist Party of Russia, the Nazi Party of Germany, and the Facist Party of Italy. The methodology of these parties varies, but their fundamental objective—to place and keep their leaders in control of the government is the same.

A capitalist democracy is a competitive society where predatory pressure groups struggle for wealth and prestige and jockey for power. Because such a society lacks inner cohesion, it cannot discipline itself.

It needs an organism which will appease the pressure groups by satisfying some of their demands and prevent conflicts between them from upsetting the stability of the system. The government plays this role and in the process enacts more and more laws. The bureaucratic governing apparatus thus becomes a class in itself with interests of its own, and becomes ever-more firmly entrenched as it extends its influence.

The end result of this process will be reached when the state assumes ownership and/or control over the whole of society establishing state capitalism, or if you prefer, state "socialism."

At this stage in its drift toward totalitarianism, governing groups cannot rule alone. They need the financial and moral support at any given time, of the most of the influential power groups: the financiers, the labor movement, the farmers, the press, the Church, as well as the military and civilian bureaucracies. Despite their differences, all these groups and institutions are inter-dependent and no one of them can stand alone without leaning on the others. Parliamentary democracy, is at this stage, the political system which safeguards the unjust economic and social order.

The actual rulers in a parliamentary democracy are the professional politicians. In theory they are supposed to represent the people, but in fact they rule over them. They do not represent. They decide. This is why Pierre Joseph Proudhon, the anarchist thinker, said, ". . . Parliament is a king with 600 heads. . . ." The political parties, or more accurately, the inner clique that controls them, select the candidates for whom the people vote. The candidates express the will of the party and not that of the people.

The platforms of the contending parties are adjusted to trick the voters into balloting for their candidates. Then the immense machinery of mass hypnotism goes into high gear. The press, the radio, television and the pulpit brainwash the public. The stupefied voters cast their ballots for candidates they never nominated and never knew, whose very names they forgot, and whose platforms they have never read. The electoral swindle is over. The voters go back to work (or to look for work) and the politicians are free to decide the destinies of the millions as they see fit. The democratic system is actually a dictatorship periodically renewed at election time.

Political machines seek to perpetuate themselves by all sorts of tricks. They sidetrack, channelize and emasculate the popular will. New politicians try to displace old ones by changing electoral laws; while entrenched politicians defend outworn electoral systems when they feel that the new laws might weaken their positions and perhaps even abolish their sinecures.

For example: the politicians in the big cities are incensed at the politicians from the rural areas who control many state legislators, because they dictate to the cities and deprive them of revenue. Representation in many state legislatures is not relative to actual population but according to districts or counties. These arrangements were made when America's population was predominantly rural. Since then the growing population is concentrated in the cities. Yet, representation remains the same. *The Painter and Decorator* of June, 1960, in an article titled "All Votes Are NOT Equal," gives many examples, such as:

. . . fewer than 300 inhabitants of Union, Connecticut, have the same number of representatives in the state's lower house as the city of Hartford, with a population of over 177,000—giving each Union voter the strength of 685 Hartford voters. Business groups generally defend unequal representation. They have learned that the conservative philosophy of small town lawyers and business men is closely in line with their own views. Also rural legislators may always be counted on to oppose the objectives of organized labor. . . .

such inequities are a major factor in American politics . . . in the South, political machines have used the county-unit system to become self-perpetuating. In many Northern states, high city populations have been denied proportional voice and vote in enacting legislation essential to their survival. . . .

Labor parties are no more immune to the diseases inherent in the parliamentary system than are other political parties. If the new Labor Party legislators are elected, they will have to "play the game" according to the established rules and customs. If they are honest, they will soon become cynical and corrupted and will be swallowed up by the machine. Most of them, however, will find their new environment to their taste because they have already learned to connive when they were operating as big wheels in their own union

BY SAM DOLGOFF

organizations. The administration of most labor unions are patterned after governmental forms of political parliamentary democracy. A course in the school of labor fakery prepares the graduates for participation in municipal, state and national government. When they take political office, they will not represent the union members, but rather, the political machine that controls their labor organization.

By way of illustration, let us assume that a strong Labor Party in the United States has finally succeeded in electing thousands of local, state and national officeholders—as has happened in England, France, Germany and other countries. The history of parliamentary labor and socialist party movements in Europe gives us a good idea of what is most likely to happen to a similar movement in the United States:

The record of the Labor Government which ruled Britain from 1945 to 1951 proves that it betrayed every socialist principle and violated nearly all its pre-election pledges. These betrayals were reflected in both its domestic and foreign policies. The direction of Labor Government policy was clearly formulated by a high Labor Party official, Sir Hartley Shawcross, in February 1946:

... I take the opportunity of making it quite clear that this government like any other government as an employer, would feel itself perfectly free to take disciplinary action that any strike situation which might develop demanded...

The Labor Party had pledged itself not to use troops as strike-breakers. Only six days after coming to power the Labor Government ordered troops to break the strike of the London dock workers. This was repeated three months later. The government also decreed wage freezes and compulsory arbitration.

The principle behind these domestic policies also guided the Labor Party government's action in foreign and colonial affairs. Before dropping the atom bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima in August 1945, President Truman had obtained the approval of the British Labor Government. The military adventures in Greece, Egypt, Iran, Indonesia, Korea, and elsewhere caused an increase in military spending from 692 million pounds in 1948 to 1032 million pounds in 1951. One hundred and thirty six Spanish anti-fascists were deported into the arms of Franco to certain imprisonment, perhaps torture and death.

The Labor government's defeat in the last general elections was primarily due to the justified disappointment to the workers with its actions and policies while in office. In 1945, Arthur Greenwood (Labor Government Privy Seal) declared:

... I look around my colleagues and I see landlords, capitalists and lawyers. We are a cross-section of the national life and this is something that has never happened before...

It is impossible for any political party of "Labor" to reach power without concessions to the "right," to the middle class and other groupings thereby violating basic principles. Labor or Socialist parties lose their identity and eventually are found to differ only on relatively minor points from the non or anti-labor contenders for power. Labor Partyism is class-collaboration in the political field and it is just as disastrous for the working class as class-collaboration on the economic field. There is every reason to believe that the same fate would befall an American Labor Party if one is established. Advocates of a Labor Party in the United States could profit by the lessons of the British Labor Party.

In the competition for votes, the original ideals and principles would be forgotten. The thousands of new officeholders would become a conservative force deeply imbedded in the established order—married to their careers. They would be constrained to establish rapport with the business community, with the agricultural interests, the clergy, with the middle-class whose support they will need for the enactment of measures advanced by them in exchange for like enactment of legislation advanced by other political parties and factions. The Labor Party would be swamped by hordes of lawyers, bourgeois intellectuals, liberal churchmen, politicians. Office seekers and other careerists, who would infiltrate and alter the character of the Labor Party beyond recognition. The honest workers and radical elements would be forced into the background. Of "labor" only the name would remain. The once proud Labor Party would inevitably degenerate into just another party in the machinery of the state. Such, in outline has been the fate of past Labor Party attempts.

In 1871, the 640,000 member National Labor Union, strongly influenced by Marxist ideas, organized a labor party (National Reform Party). Historian Ely writes that the organization "Died of politics." Though written in 1913 by Morris Hillquit, a founder of the Socialist Party, his assessment confirms our observations and remains relevant:

... the fate of the Labor Party was the fate common to all independent political parties formed by American trade unions before and after it. As soon as it acquired appreciable strength, it was invaded by professional politicians, who entangled it in alliances with political parties. Its platform was gradually watered, its class character obliterated, its identity obscured, and finally it merged into one of the dominant political parties...

Hillquit thought that his party would escape the same fate. But socialist parties in Italy, France, the United States and elsewhere conclude alliances with, and campaign for, candidates of bourgeois non-socialist parties.

Matthew Wohl, deceased Vice-President of the AFL (himself a first-rate conniver) in the debate with the labor party bloc at the 1936 convention, in an unguarded moment, let the cat out of the bag:

... I have watched these politicians in our movement. I followed their methods and regardless of how they talk of their trade union loyalty, my experience has been that when they enter the political arena they begin to talk like politicians, and very soon thinking like politicians. To the desertion of every trade union activity they pledged themselves to become part of

The various factions inside the American labor movement were always sharply divided on the question of parliamentary action in general and the labor party in particular. There are factions who believe in the class-struggle and also in parliamentary action

In our opinion, tactics must flow from principles. The tactic of parliamentary action is not compatible with the principle of class-struggle. Class struggle in the economic field is not compatible with class-collaboration on the political field. This truth has been amply demonstrated throughout the history of the labor movement in every land. Parliamentary action serves only to reinforce the institutions responsible for social injustice—the exploitative economic system and the State

The strength of the labor movement lies in its economic power. Labor produces all wealth and provides all the services. Only the workers can change the social system fundamentally. To do this, the workers do not need a labor party, since by their economic power they are in a position to achieve the Social Revolution, the indispensable precondition for human progress. As long as the means of production are in the hands of the few and the many are robbed of the fruits of their labor, any participation in the political skulduggery which has as its sole purpose the maintenance of this system amounts to both tacit and direct support of the system itself. By electoral participation in any form, radicals actually become accomplices in the fraud

The American labor movement today is reactionary. Almost all the unions are tyrannically controlled by unprincipled bureaucrats, and not a few, by racketeers, whose ethics are those of the predatory social system in which they operate. They practice class-collaboration and uphold the doctrine that the interests of the employer and his victims are identical. This is a secret to no one. In the August 1958 issue of *Harper's Magazine*, Dick Bruner, ex-political staff executive of the CIO, wrote

The labor movement lacks its own ideas. On many of the most fundamental political and social issues, it is hard to distinguish labor's position from that of the National Association of Manufacturers. It has adopted the "mass market" concept of the big corporations, and its leaders treat the rank-and-file with contempt

Any serious Labor Party that is formed will be under the domination of this corrupt, collaborationist union bureaucracy. The same leaders who repeatedly sold out the workers at the bargaining table will repeat their betrayals in the legislative bodies. Labor Partyism means class-collaboration on the political field. The same disastrous results are inevitable since it involves making concessions to classes whose interests are diametrically opposed to the basic interests of the working class. Selig Perlman, the well known bourgeois minded labor historian, in his book, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* writes:

... under no circumstances can labor afford to arouse the fears of the great middle class for the safety of private property as a basic institution. Labor needs the support of public opinion, meaning, the middle class, both rural and urban...

The middle class, as the name implies, allies itself not only with labor legislators, but also with the military faction, the financial interests, and other anti-labor pressure groups, who also defend private property and also, when the middle class feels that it has

continued on page 15

weatherwoman jailed, still committed to change

On January 25th, Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson, a former weatherwoman, began serving a three-year prison term for possession of dynamite. She pled guilty to the charge which arose out of an accidental explosion that took place in New York in April of 1970. She will be at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility for Women, 247 Harris Rd., Bedford Hills, New York, 10507. Her statement follows.

Today I am going to prison to serve a three-year term. I have been identified as one who sought to attack the foundations of American justice. I did indeed do this because I believe that American justice is a system organized to protect the rich and powerful and to terrorize those who fight against its cruelties.

Where, I ask you, is the justice in the mass murders of Black women in Boston, Black men in Buffalo, Black children in Atlanta, when these murders follow centuries of violent race hatred? Where is the justice in the exoneration of Nixon, Gray, Felt and Miller while the victims of their COINTELPRO frameups remain in jail?

The culture that grows from the economic and political institutions of North America bears poison flowers. Our culture is rife with contempt and hatred of women, causing the rape, brutalization and belittlement of our sex. Our culture is rancid with white supremacy, with many white people obsessed with justifying our obviously greater access to education, housing, jobs and power. But remember that the more overt actions by the most exploited whites who are immediately threatened by decaying schools, loss of jobs or home are not as heinous in the long run as the duplicity of more privileged whites who provide ideological justifications for racism: who by their material success and self-righteous smugness provide a persuasive example of the material benefits of complicity--however silent--with white supremacy.

heartless, calculated violence

The sap of the poison flowers is heartless, calculated violence. Sure, one by-product of imperialism is violence among the people, caused by material desperation and deep alienation. But this violence is like a teacup to a reservoir compared to the violence of our government. U.S. support of reaction in Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America has cost millions of lives and the decimation of lands and cultures. U.S. corporate pollution of air, ground and water (most extreme in their third world locations) is costing tens of thousands more every year. And what of the violence done to children, sleeping with their shoes on in urban centers because they have no heat? Do they have the same equal opportunity to study as children who have their own warm room?

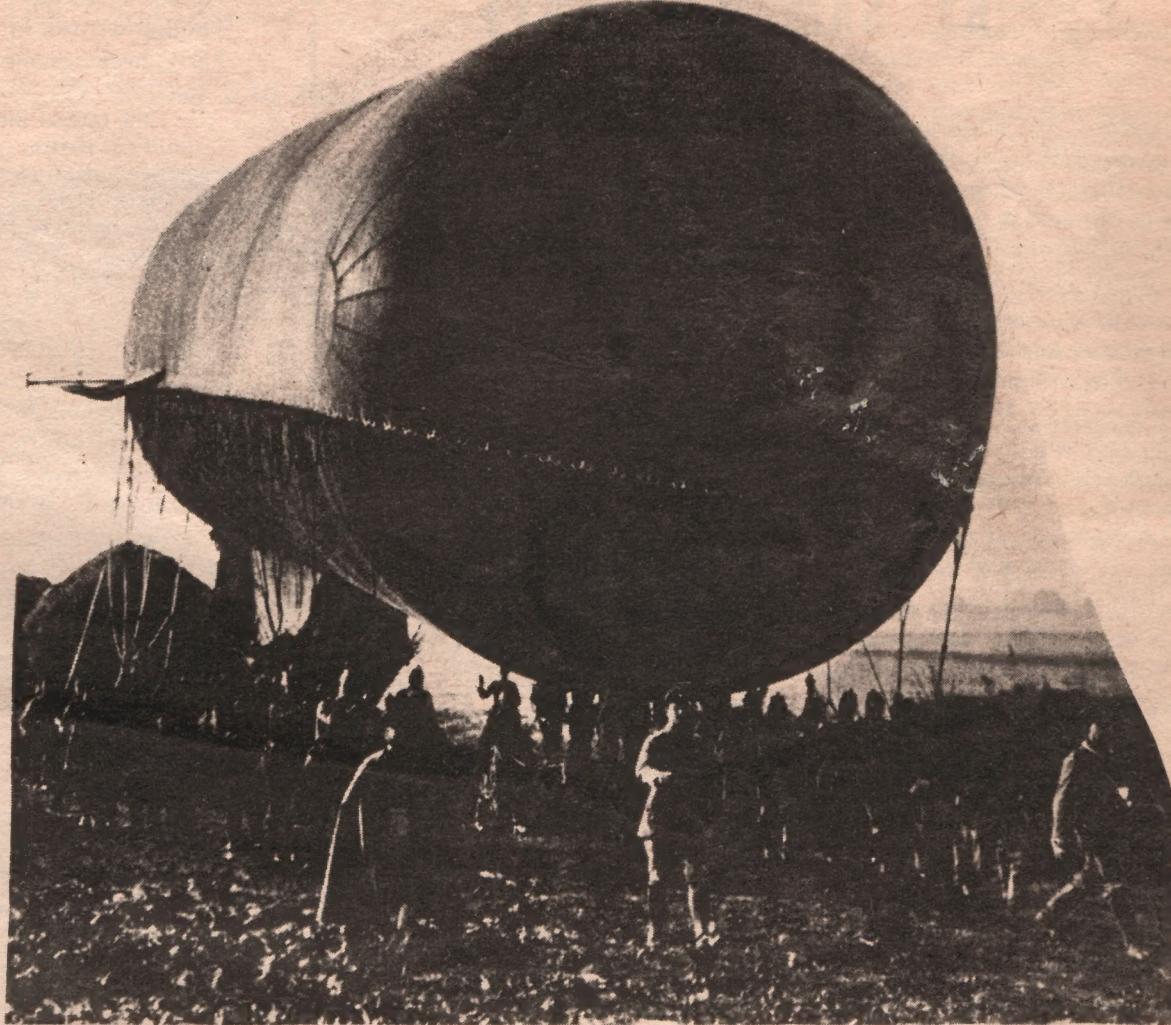
The thought or sight of children cold or hungry, of the dignity of teenagers being whittled away by decayed schools and no jobs... These commonplace occurrences can still make me weep. I cannot insulate myself--by whatever means from these realities for it would necessitate a deadening of the spirit, a neutralizing of mortality. I have fiercely guarded my ability to cry out at pain by being an activist. That is why, given the choice of prison or cooperation with the perpetrators of global violence, I choose to join the folks inside, for they are my people. And the middle choice of numbing the pain holds no appeal. I do not want to die in spirit.

My mother taught me to respect the dignity of other human beings. This allowed me to understand that oppressed peoples are best qualified to define their struggle for freedom. As a white person, wanting to contend with racism, sexism and economic exploitation facing me and a majority of other whites, I recognize that it is third world communities, fighting U.S. imperialism in all its forms, who have exposed the diseased corruption of U.S. culture and who are taking realistic and courageous steps to move beyond it. In that context, I want to take this opportunity to extend my solidarity to the people and communist parties of Vietnam and Cuba, to the freedom fighters of Africa, El Salvador and Chile and to the Black, Puerto Rican and Native American liberation struggles amongst us.

thanks to my sisters

I also send love and thanks to my sisters who have fought to help us women and our children to find the insights and courage to stand up proud, gentle and fierce. Without the inspiration and guidance of these forces I would still be confused and frightened by the barrage of propaganda foisted on me, as on all of us, by our government.

And I want to send special love and solidarity to the sisters and brothers of the Puerto Rican Movement who are P.O.W.'s in our prisons, to Assata Shakur, William Morales, and their comrades who remain free and fighting, and to the Black and Indian freedom fighters serving life terms. You see--it is obvious: a government which enforces its corruption and barbarities on all levels -- from enforced poverty, to miseducation, misinformation, social manipulation and pervasive violence must expect to be fought on all levels. Facism was not fought with words alone. The other day, General Haig justified U.S. intervention in Chile resulting in the bloody coup against Allende and the murderous Pinochet regime. He argued for more of the same around the world. His only regret about Vietnam is that this government lost. In the face of this, no one should expect freedom movements which have shown such courage and sacri-



fice to avoid the responsibility to take up arms in defense of these movements. And since the most minimal struggle against imperialism is met with overwhelming repression by the government, the early stages of armed struggle must follow closely behind the birth of a movement. In the long run, the battle of words is decisive, but at moments, armed struggle will be crucial in defending the political gains of the people. Sometimes these actions will focus on exposing a particular aspect of the repression of the state, and at other times they will defend a revolution itself.

struggling for 20 years

For twenty years I have participated in many areas of struggle. Because I think it is a delusion to separate one aspect of my life, that of March 1970, from others, I believe I am being sent to prison for the totality of my activities. How can I think otherwise when so many who fight against society's evils are in prison and others who cause death and destruction through illegal wars, repression, industrial pollution and right wing violence remain free?

Nonetheless, I remain committed to fighting to change our world because I believe the beauty and productivity of the human spirit cannot be contained by the few who rule with greed, selfishness and cruelty. Finally, to the children, I send love and hope that while you wrestle with the inequities and confusions of our system, you hold onto the gentleness, courage and caring with which you were born. Especially today, Martin Luther King's birthday, you should know that there are others grappling with the evils and holding hopes for the future. A Luta Continua

Press Statement Bernardine Dohrn December 3, 1980

Over ten years ago, I along with many others went underground to oppose U.S. intervention in Vietnam; to try to support the black movement for liberation and human rights; and to oppose the system built on slavery, genocide and colonialism. This was a time when the unspeakable crimes of the American government were exposed and resisted by unprecedented numbers of its own people--and a time when official programs such as COINTELPRO set out to destroy these movements. Most decisively, black leaders were murdered, imprisoned and slandered; organizations destroyed; and the black, Hispanic and Native American freedom movements were subject to a monstrous and illegal program to destroy them. Foremost in my mind today are the many black and Third World political prisoners and freedom fighters whose determination remains clear, and who continue to embody the spirit and vision of struggle despite ferocious efforts to silence and defeat them. I regret not at all our efforts to side with the forces of national liberation.

The nature of the system has not changed. Today, the threat of Vietnam-type intervention looms large in South Africa, El Salvador and the Middle East. In ten years, a great wave of countries have won their independence, yet U.S. crimes live on in the terrible price exacted against Vietnam, Cuba and all nations who have freed themselves: subversion and imposed hardship; reparations and trade denied; lies and falsified history. Today, racist attacks are committed against black children, black people, alongside the national rise of the Ku Klux Klan and an ugly mood of racism and reaction. A system of violence and degradation against women is openly encouraged. Native American lives, land and resources are under heightened assault. The U.S. is devoting great resources to try again to crush the independence movement to free Puerto Rico from colonial domination. Day care, schools, health care are sacrificed; the air, land and water we bequeath to the children are poisoned; we are menaced with constant war and the threat of nuclear destruction.

I believe in the necessity of underground work, so I am returning to open life with a sense of loss as well as hope. I look forward to spending time with family and friends, new and old. I'm eager to discuss the lessons of the '60s and '70s, including my errors and wrong directions, as well as our strengths and successes. Given the system which perpetuates such harsh oppression and suffering, rebellion is inevitable and continuous. Resistance by every

GOOD-BYE WEATHER MACHINE

THEY CALL IT TERROR

if you are a few
and have no B-52's
if you are not a head of state
with an army and police
if you have neither napalm
nor tanks
nor electronic battlefields
- terror is if you are dispossessed
and have only two hands
each other
and your rage

means necessary is happening and will continue with the U.S. as well as around the world, and I remain committed to the struggle ahead.

Press Statement Bill Ayers December 3, 1980

In 1970, I went underground to fight against the Vietnam War, the full-scale police attacks on the black liberation movement, and the system that created these things. In this time of selective amnesia, of rewriting history, of officially closing the books on the true story of popular resistance and widespread identification with Third World liberation, it is worth remembering that was the time of the Tet Offensive and the Chicago convention, My Lai and the police murder of Fred Hampton, black rebellion in the cities and Jackson and Kent State. That was the time of COINTELPRO and the official sanctioned assault and murder of leaders of the black liberation movement, a crime that lives on in the black revolutionaries illegally locked up for a decade now, and in the unresolved issues (responsibilities and reparations) surrounding the murders of black leaders. The recent slap on the wrist given to Mark Felt and Edward Miller does not begin to deal with the responsibility they share with superiors and subordinates alike for these crimes.

Now I am returning to an open life, leaving the shelter and freedom of the forest, but I return with the same basic beliefs, hopes and dreams. The nature of the system has not changed a bit in ten years. It is a system built in genocide and slavery and oppression, a system that poisons the earth and cripples future generations for profit, plunders the land and labor of millions, institutionalized violence against women, takes the world to the brink of nuclear disaster, and is in a state of almost perpetual war. It seems to me that the current establishment goal and promise of recapturing U.S. hegemony around the world and economic prosperity at home can only be attempted through war. In the '80s, this system will produce the almost certain prospect of U.S. aggression in southern Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, and the proliferation of violent racist attacks as in Atlanta, Buffalo and the national rise of the KKK.

In all this I intend to support liberation. And I intend to fight against the next inevitable imperialist war with even more determination than I opposed the last one. Our hearts are still with the freedom fighters.

PAMPHLETS and BOOKLETS

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THE LABOR PARTY ILLUSION

something to gain, by allying itself with these interests. The Labor Party will then be forced to support its temporary middle class allies, for fear of retaliation when it needs middle class support to enact some of its own measures. This being the case, labor is bound to lose whatever independence and identity it did have, and eventually become just as corrupt as the old parties.

Those who are beating the drums loudest for the Labor Party are "radicals" of various Marxist or pseudo-marxist groups. These same people will tell you that they too, believe in economic action of the workers and the class-struggle. Some will explain that parliamentary action is necessary to supplement and make economic action more effective. Others, that it is only a gimmick to gain public attention, or free time on television and radio during the nominating and election period.

Nothing could be more dangerous to the worker's cause. Electioneering diverts the attention of the workers away from more militant struggles into essentially counter-revolutionary channels. It undermines confidence in their most effective weapon, their economic power. In his valuable work *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Rudolf Rocker, deals with this problem in the following terms. It is worth quoting at length:

all the political rights and liberties which people enjoy today, they do not owe to the good-will of their governments, but to their own strength. Great mass movements and whole revolutions have been necessary to wrest these liberties from the ruling classes, who would never have consented to them voluntarily. **WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS NOT THAT GOVERNMENTS HAVE DECIDED TO CONCEDE CERTAIN RIGHTS TO THE PEOPLE, BUT WHY THEY HAD TO DO SO**

if Anarcho-Syndicalists nevertheless reject participation in national parliaments, it is not because they have no sympathy with the political struggles in general, but because its adherents are of the opinion that this form of activity is the very weakest and most helpless form, of the political struggle for the workers.

It is a fact that when socialist labor parties have wanted to achieve some political reforms they could not do so by parliamentary action but were obliged to rely wholly on the economic fighting power of the workers. The political general strikes in Belgium and Sweden for attainment of universal suffrage are proof of this. And, in Russia, it was the general strike of 1905 that forced the Czar to sign the new constitution.

It was the recognition of this which impelled the Anarcho-Syndicalists to center their activity on the socialist education of the masses and the utilization of their economic and social power. Their method is that of direct action in both the economic and political struggle of the time.

By direct action they mean any method of the immediate struggle by the workers against economic and political oppression. Among these the most outstanding are the strike in all its gradations, from the simple wage struggle to the General Strike, organized boycott and all other economic means which workers as producers have in their hands.

While the worker's most effective weapon—direct economic action—is being sharply curtailed, the labor movement is sinking deeper and deeper into the political swamp. Through its Political Action Committees, the unions waste many millions of dollars in political campaigns for "favorable" candidates and lobbying for "favorable" legislation. The National Headquarters of the AFL-CIO as well as most of its affiliated unions are housed in Washington, D.C. close to the seats of power, the White House, the legislative chambers and the governmental bureaus. In the competition for votes, politicians from the President down to the local ward-heeler invite candidates to address their gatherings.

The labor movement is in deep crisis, because to a large extent, the membership is infected with the parliamentary virus. **THE LABOR PARTY ILLUSION MUST BE DISPELLED**

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